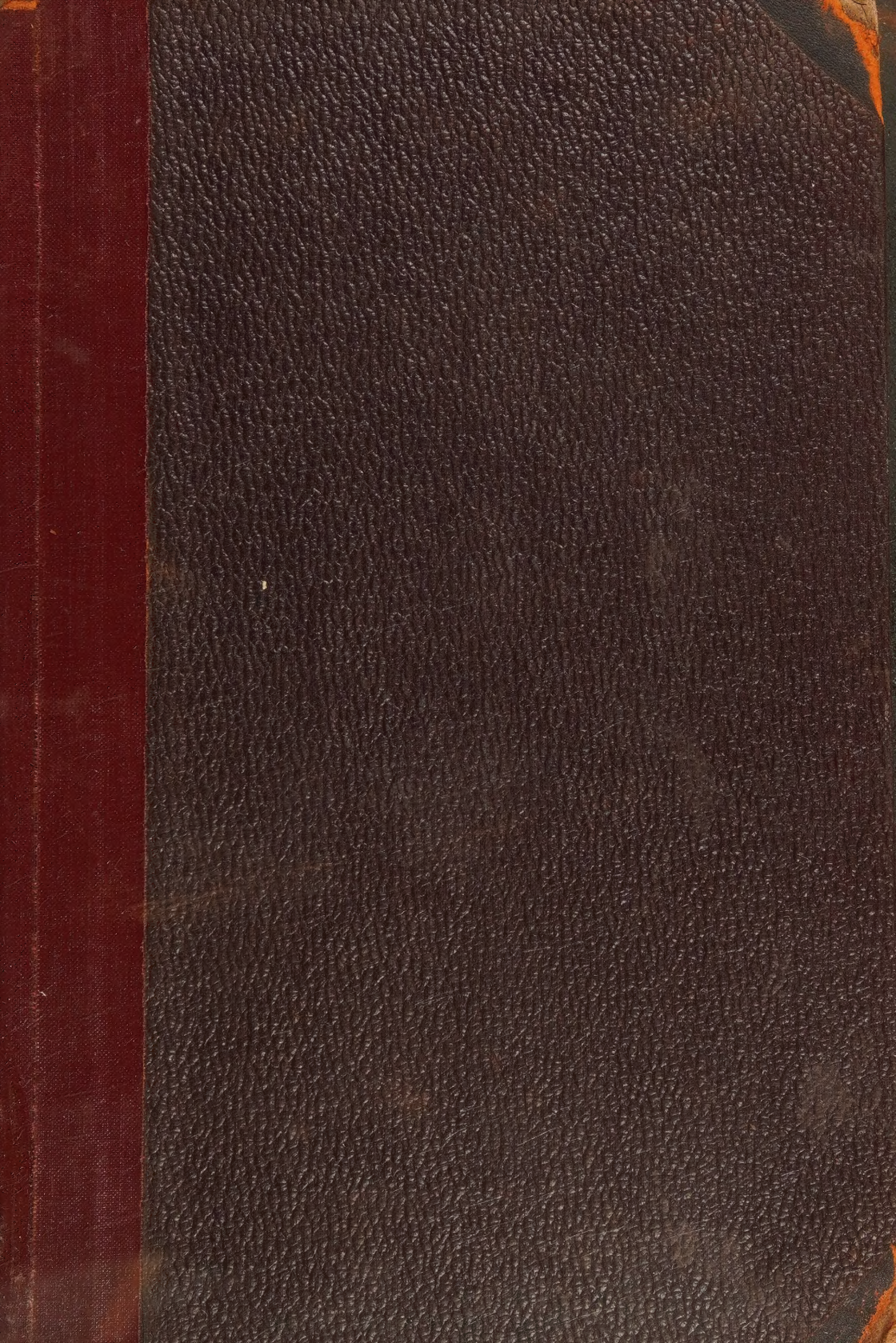
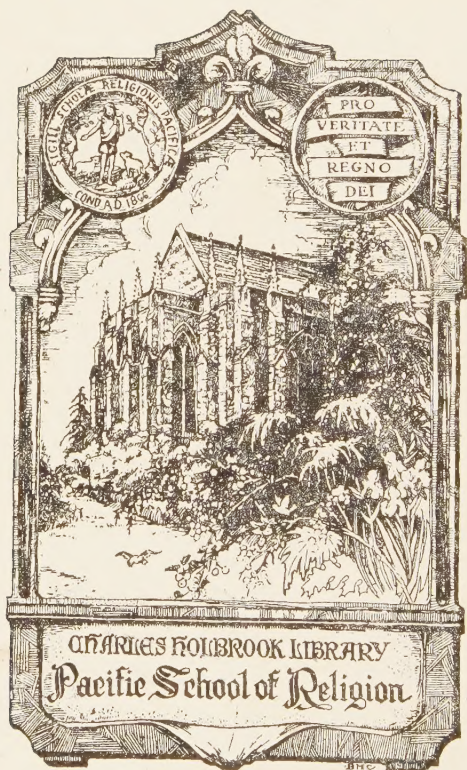
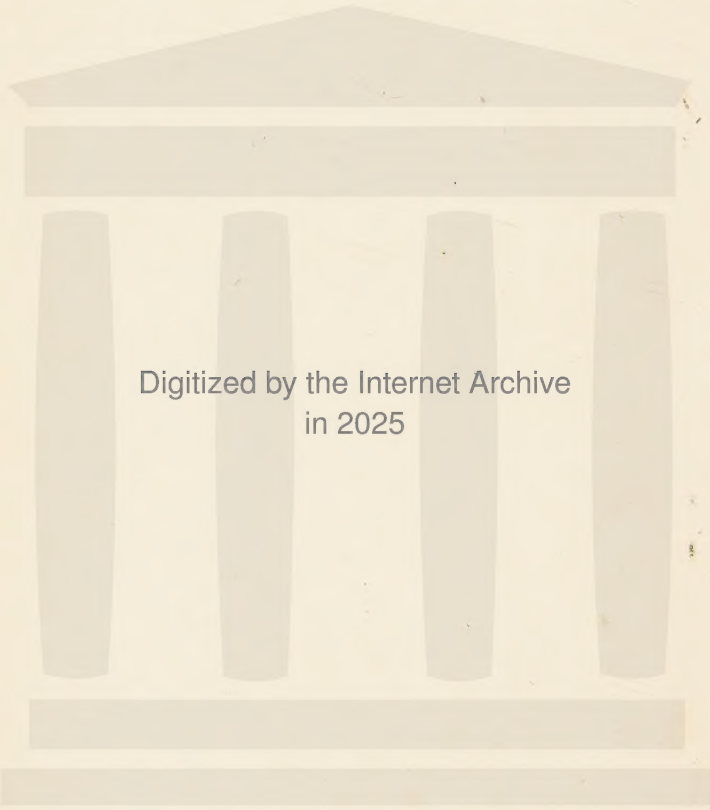






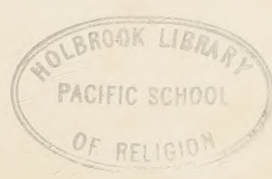




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PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

AMERICAN

JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NUMBER 9



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
1901



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OF THE

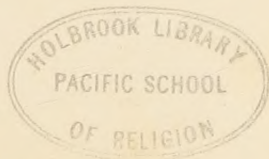
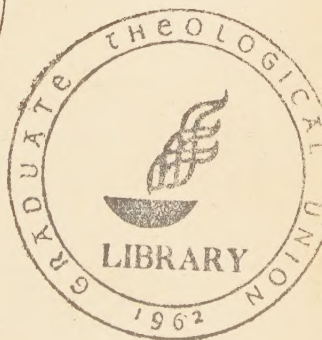
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The Lord Baltimore Press

THE FRIEDENWALD COMPANY

BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ORGANIZED AT NEW YORK, JUNE 7, 1892.

LIST OF OFFICERS.

President:

DR. CYRUS ADLER.

Vice-Presidents:

HON. SIMON W. ROSENDALE,
MENDES COHEN,
REV. DR. B. FELSETHAL,
PROF. CHARLES GROSS.

Corresponding Secretary:

DR. HERBERT FRIEDENWALD.

Recording Secretary:

MAX J. KOHLER.

Treasurer:

PROF. RICHARD GOTTHEIL.

Additional Members of the Executive Council:

HON. OSCAR S. STRAUS, LL. D.,
HON. MAYER SULZBERGER,
PROF. MORRIS JASTROW, JR.,
HON. N. TAYLOR PHILLIPS,
HON. SIMON WOLF,
PROF. J. H. HOLLANDER,
JOHN SAMUEL,
REV. DR. DAVID PHILIPSON,
REV. HENRY COHEN,
PROF. MORRIS LOEB.

All communications should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, DR. HERBERT FRIEDENWALD, 915 N. 16th St., Phila., Pa., U. S. A.

OBJECTS.

The object of this Society is to collect and publish material bearing upon the history of America. It is known that Jews in Spain and Portugal lent no inconsiderable aid to the voyages that led to the discovery of America, that a few accompanied the earliest discoverers, and that Jews were among the first settlers on this continent, and in its adjacent islands. Considerable numbers saw service in the Colonial and Revolutionary wars, some of them with great distinction. Others contributed liberally to the Continental treasury, at critical periods, to aid in the establishment of Independence. Since the foundation of our government Jews have played an active part in the political affairs of the country, and have been called upon to hold important public positions. The records of the achievements of these men will, when gathered together, prove of value and interest to the historian, and perchance cast light upon some obscure parts of the history of our country.

The purposes for which this Society was organized are not sectarian but American. The co-operation of students of history and of all persons interested in the work of this Society is cordially invited.

EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The eighth annual meeting of the Society was held at the Hebrew Charities Building, New York City, on Tuesday, December 26, 1899, about seventy persons being in attendance. The President of the Society, Dr. Cyrus Adler, presided at the two sessions and delivered an address.

The Treasurer, Dr. Richard Gottheil, presented the following report:

Richard Gottheil, Treasurer, in account with the American Jewish Historical Society.

Dr.

1899.

Balance	\$1075.90
Dues	725.10
Sales	13.68

\$1814.68

Cr.

1899.

Clerical Hire	\$33.67
Stationery	34.25
Printing	1.05
Insurance	16.80
Expenses, meeting	21.50
MSS. bought	25.50
Stamps, checks	.04

Expenditures, \$132.81 \$ 132.81

\$1681.87

Interest..... 6.08

" 11.62

On Hand..... \$1699.57

STATEMENT OF THE ASSETS OF THE SOCIETY.

Balance in Knickerbocker Trust Company.....	\$1699.57
Balance in Albany Savings Bank	1189.18
\$1143.00 Bal. 1898,	
22.86 Interest, (Jan).	
23.32 Interest, (July).	

Reverend Stephen S. Wise and Professor Morris Loeb were appointed a committee to audit the Treasurer's report.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that the Society had on its rolls 218 persons, of whom 5 are honorary, 13 are corresponding, 4 are life and 196 are contributing members. During the year the Society lost by death four members, one of them the venerable Judge Daly, who was an Honorary Member.

In July 1899 an arrangement was entered into whereby the Jewish Publication Society became the agent of this Society for the sale of its publications.

The Society purchased during the year a number of manuscripts. Several consist of the processes, in the month of June 1590, in Mexico City, against Francisco and Miguel Hernandez de Almeida, Portuguese miners, for Judaizing. The cases were abruptly terminated because the principal witnesses revoked their testimony. These men were brothers of Jorge de Almeida, an account of whose trial was published in No. 4 of the *Publications* of the Society.

At the De Castro sale, at Amsterdam, were procured in May, 1899, a number of important documents of the middle and end of the last century, relating to the congregation *Mickvé Israel* of the Island of Curaçao.

The Reverend Chief Rabbi of England, Dr. Hermann Adler, was elected by the Council, a corresponding member.

One publication, No. 7, was issued during the year.

On motion, the President appointed Miss Elvira N. Solis, Mr. Leon Hühner and Rev. Dr. H. Pereira Mendes, a Committee on Nominations. They reported the following list of officers, who were unanimously elected :

President, Dr. Cyrus Adler ; Vice-Presidents, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Mr. Mendes Cohen, Professor Charles Gross, Dr. B. Felsenthal ; Treasurer, Professor Richard Gottheil ; Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald ; Recording Secretary, Professor Jacob H. Hollander.

Additional Members of the Executive Council ; Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., Judge Mayer Sulzberger, Mr. N. Taylor Phillips, Hon. Simon Wolf, Mr. Max J. Kohler, Mr. John Samuel, Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Rev. Henry Cohen, Professor Morris Loeb.

A vote of thanks was tendered the officers of the Hebrew Charities Building for courtesies extended the Society.

On Tuesday evening the members of the Society were the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Isidor Straus.

The following papers were presented :

I. *Further Documents Relating to the Inquisition in Mexico*, by Dr. Cyrus Adler, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

II. *Isaac Levy and his Claim to Property in Georgia*, by Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, Library of Congress, Washington.

III. *The Early Settlement of the Jews in the Island of Barbados*, by Prof. Richard Gottheil, Columbia University, New York.

Additional Information Respecting Haym Solomon, by Prof. J. H. Hollander, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

The Jews of South Carolina prior to 1800 ; A Prominent Jewish Patriot of Revolutionary Times, by Leon Hühner, Esq., New York.

The German-Jewish Migration to America ; The Jews and the American Anti-Slavery Movement, II., by Max J. Kohler, Esq., New York.

Jewish Topography of New York, by Miss Annette Kohn, New York.

Notes on the Early Newport Jews, by Reverend Dr. H. Pereira Mendes, New York.

Read by title :

New Documentary Materials for the History of the Marranos in Mexico ; miscellaneous : (a) Some Early Jewish Printers in America, (b) A Frankist Petition Addressed to Archbishop Lubinski, 1759, published in Mexico, by Reverend George A. Kohut, Dallas, Texas.

NINTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The ninth annual meeting of the Society was held in Philadelphia, at Witherspoon Hall, on December 26, 1900, 90 persons being in attendance. Dr. Cyrus Adler, President of the Society called the meeting to order and Mr. Max J. Kohler was elected Recording Secretary *pro tem.*, in the absence of Dr. J. H. Hollander, Recording Secretary, who was detained at his post as Treasurer of Porto Rico.

Prof. Richard Gottheil the Treasurer presented the following report :

Richard Gottheil, Treasurer, in account with the American
Jewish Historical Society, October 1, 1900.

Balance Knic. Trust Co., Oct. 1, 1899	\$1706.40
Dues and Back Dues from Members.....	845.00
Steiger (Publications).....	7.67
Interest (K. C. T.) to Dec. 31, 1899.....	11.89
Interest (K. C. T.) to June 30, 1900	13.09
Total Receipts.....	\$2584.05
Total Expenditures	1363.88
Balance.....	\$1221.17
For MSS. (W. W. Blake)	\$ 20.00
Indexing Vol. 7.....	20.00
Indexing Vol. 8.....	20.00
Printing Vol. 7.....	298.75
Printing Vol. 8	441.16
Cyrus Adler-Copying documents.....	225.00
Richard Gottheil-Copying documents.....	100.00
Printing and Stationery.....	206.56
Clerical Services.....	32.09
Stamps and Exchange for Collection, K. C. T... ..	.32
Total Expenditures.....	\$1363.88

STATEMENT OF THE ASSETS OF THE SOCIETY.

Balance in K. C. T. Co., Oct. 1, 1900.....	\$1198.62
Interest in Albany Savings Bank	45.00
Cash in hands of Treasurer	25.80
Former Deposit in Albany Savings Bank	1189.18
Present Deposit in Albany Savings Bank.....	\$1234.18

The Treasurer further reported that his financial statement did not include an additional sum of \$52.20 proceeds of sales of 61 numbers of the Society's *Publications* by its agent, the Jewish Publication Society of America. On motion the report was received, ordered on file and referred to an Auditing Committee of two to be appointed by the President.

The report of the Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald was read, in his absence. It expressed his regret at being prevented from attending the annual meeting, for the first time since the Society's organization. The report referred to the gratifying fact that the Society, though starting its career very humbly, has each year attracted to its meetings a constantly increasing number of young, energetic men as contributors to its proceedings; men who are not following historical studies as a profession, who are busily engaged in various pursuits, but who, nevertheless, are willing to devote a part of their scant time to doing their little to promote the study of the history of the Jews in America, and whose communications in the main, betray a dignity and scholarship equal to those presented before any other Society of similar character.

He reported that the Society has on its rolls 227 persons an increase of 9 over the number recorded at the last annual meeting. Of these 5 are honorary, 14 are corresponding, 4 are life and the remaining 204 are contributing members. There was no loss of membership by death during the year 1900, though several resigned and others were dropped from the rolls for non-payment of dues. One publication, No. 8, was issued during the year. At a meeting of the Council held on November 29, 1900, Dr. Cyrus Adler presented his

resignation from the Chairmanship of the Committee on Publications, which was reluctantly accepted. A new Committee on Publications was thereupon appointed, consisting of Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, Chairman; Judge Mayer Sulzberger and Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr.

A proposed by-law was presented at the meeting of the Society by the Treasurer, at the suggestion of Mr. John Samuel, which was duly carried. It reads as follows: "Any member who shall have neglected or omitted to pay his annual dues for three successive years, shall, on notice to him from the Treasurer of that fact, and of this by-law, *ipso facto* cease to be a member of this Society; unless within one month after said notice he pays all of his dues in arrear, or shall be excused therefrom by the Executive Council of the Society which is hereby authorized on proper grounds, to remit said dues."

A Nominating Committee, consisting of Mr. Leon Hühner, Prof. Gottheil and Mr. H. Necarsulmer, was appointed, who recommended the election of the following officers, who were thereupon unanimously elected: President, Dr. Cyrus Adler; Vice-Presidents, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Mendes Cohen, Esq., Rev. Dr. B. Felsenthal, Prof. Charles Gross; Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald; Recording Secretary, Max J. Kohler, Esq.; Treasurer, Prof. Richard Gottheil.

Additional Members of the Executive Council: Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, Hon. Simon Wolf, Prof. J. H. Hollander, John Samuel, Esq., Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Rev. Henry Cohen and Prof. Morris Loeb.

At the request of the President, Mr. Mendes Cohen, one of the Vice-Presidents, presided during a portion of the afternoon meeting, and Hon. Oscar S. Straus, former President, presided during the evening session. At the evening session, Dr. Cyrus Adler read his Presidential Address, which was followed by the presentation by Joseph Jacobs, Esq., of "A plea for an American Jewish Historical Exhibition." After discussion of the various recommendations contained

in these two papers a resolution was presented by Judge Sulzberger, which was unanimously carried, as follows :

“Resolved, that the proposal to extend the work of the Society on the lines suggested in the President’s annual address and the question of the advisability of holding an American Jewish Historical Exhibition be referred to a Special Committee, consisting of four members of the Council, and four additional members of the Society, with power to add to their number.”

The following papers were presented and read, each of which gave rise to discussion :

I. *The Early Jewish settlement at Lancaster, Pennsylvania*, by H. Necarsulmer, Esq., New York.

II. *Notes on the History of the Earliest Existing German-Jewish Congregation in America*, (*Rodeph Shalom of Philadelphia*), by Rev. Dr. Henry Berkowitz, Philadelphia.

III. *Fray Joseph Diaz Pimienta, alias Abraham Pimienta, of the Island of Cuba, and the Inquisition in Seville, 1720*, by Prof. Richard Gottheil, New York.

IV. *An Incident connected with Dr. David Nassy, Surinam, 1797*, by Prof. Richard Gottheil.

V. *Notes on the Grant of Original Privileges to the Jews of Surinam by the Local English Governor and Council, (1665)*, by Rev. Dr. H. P. Mendes, New York.

VI. *Aaron de Montezinos and the Theory that the American Indians are Descendants of the Lost Ten Tribes*, by Max J. Kohler, Esq., New York.

VII. *History of the Jews in Georgia in Colonial Times*, by Leon Hühner, Esq., New York.

VIII. *The History of the First Russian-American Congregation*, by J. D. Eisenstein, Esq., New York.

IX. *The Jews of Barbados*, by Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, Philadelphia.

X. *Notes on the History of the Jews in Jamaica*, by Max J. Kohler, Esq., New York.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT,

DR. CYRUS ADLER.

Members and Friends of the American Jewish Historical Society:

I am glad to be able to extend a welcome to so many members of the Society and to those also who are not members but evince an interest in our work by their presence. It is a gratifying fact that although our Society has never aimed either to instruct or to entertain and has continued to devote itself to its original purpose of research and the publication of results obtained, the public and the press have supported us by their generous encouragement.

The first scientific meeting of this Society was held in Philadelphia, in 1892, under the Presidency of Mr. Oscar S. Straus, our late Minister to Turkey, recognized at home and abroad as a learned author and a distinguished diplomat. In accordance with the custom which prevails among learned societies, Mr. Straus upon that occasion delivered a presidential address, and while he held office, up to 1898, he continued this custom, always bringing before the Society some new and suggestive thoughts or referring to some important investigations in our chosen field which had been carried on during the year. In establishing the custom our Society did not however follow the example of other learned societies and elect a new president each year. It is a fact known to the initiated that in learned societies the function of the president is to sit in the chair at meetings for one year in order that he may deliver a presidential address at his retirement. This address is largely a review for a year, or for a longer period, of the progress of the

particular science or branch of learning which the society cultivates, less frequently a discussion of general principles and theories, and, only occasionally, along the line of some original work which the president himself has been engaged upon. Now, it is obvious that no person can be expected to present an address year after year without it becoming a rather cut and dried affair. With our first president it was not so, and, in the early days of the existence of the Society, it was well that we broke through the usual custom and re-elected Mr. Straus from year to year since his presence, his advice, his stimulus and his executive ability, had much to do with placing the Society where I now think we can fairly claim it is, upon a permanent basis. This being the case, I wish to present to the Society, seriously, the idea that it shall not continue to re-elect its president from year to year; that a new man with new thoughts shall hold this office, and that the presidential address shall again become a really notable feature of our annual meetings.

I have decided this year, quite on my own responsibility and without involving the policy of the Society, and distinctly stating that the members of the Council are in no wise responsible for my utterances, to take the entire Society into my confidence and to discuss with them in a frank way matters which have heretofore been kept within the Council, or which have not as yet been touched upon at all, in order that each may feel himself a partaker in all affairs of the Society and lend his suggestion and his aid.

When the Society was started there were not a half dozen persons in the country who were engaged in the study of American Jewish history. The researches of Judge Daly, though printed, were accessible to very few. The book of Mr. Markens, valuable in many ways, was the only compact statement of the history and achievements of the Jews of the United States. Of the history of the Jews in South America and Mexico and the West India Islands, almost nothing was accessible to the average reader and little to the student

himself. The researches of Dr. Kayserling were published in books, of which few copies existed in this country, and while containing much about the South American states, were not written from the especial point of view of elucidating the history of those communities. The laborious and painstaking work of Mr. Simon Wolf on the public services in the army and State rendered by Jews of this continent was just then in hand. It required an organization of this kind to crystallize the interest and to promote the work. No one of us at that time, I think, had even a slight conception of the really important part which the Jews played in the history of the settlement of the American continent, and it was a view entertained even by some of our most enthusiastic members that a few years work and a few volumes would suffice to bring out all the important facts, and that our labors would then be over. It is needless for me to tell you that this is far from being the case; that we have but scratched the surface; that patient investigation and the examination of original records in every part of this continent and among the principal libraries of England, Holland, Spain and Portugal, and a careful study of the conditions which caused the migrations from Germany, Poland, and still later from Russia, will be necessary before the whole story can be told, and then, if we read the signs of the times aright, there will be new subjects for investigation, so that we may feel assured that the American Jewish Historical Society has come to stay.

With the fullest sympathy for the general dissemination of knowledge, and an entire understanding of the responsibility which any body of scholars has towards the public, this Society at the outset did not endeavor to become a popular organization. It was conceived to be our function to learn the truth and to state it, whether it were entertaining or not. Our meetings were to be in the main for our own members. Papers were to be read and time allowed for discussion of matters brought up whether they were of

popular interest or not. Such as were worthy from the point of view of affording new facts were to be published and circulated among the members and placed in the important libraries of the world, and these ideas have been steadily adhered to. We have left it to our sister society, the Jewish Publication Society of America, to disseminate knowledge. The Jewish press has recognized the importance of the work and the interest attaching to American Jewish history, and has from time to time had articles upon American Jewish historical topics, though hardly, I think, with the frequency which the subject warrants. The Society is to be congratulated upon the maintenance of its own standards, and we cannot but feel gratified that the body of our membership has, in the main, supported us in this view, and that without appeals of any sort we have enough income for our immediate needs with a comfortable reserve for extraordinary occasions or for a rainy day.

The Society by a vote of the Council undertook more than a year ago, to preserve a record of the Jewish soldiers and sailors who served in the Spanish-American war, it being understood that a preliminary list should be prepared and printed in the American Jewish Year Book, which would reach at least 5,000 persons and give opportunity for a corrected list to be published finally by this Society. The work was placed in the hands of Dr. J. H. Hollander, of Johns Hopkins University, who had hardly entered upon it when he was requested to go to Porto Rico, by the Secretary of War, for the purpose of investigating the financial conditions there and report a scheme of taxation. Understanding that this was but a temporary service, which would occupy him at most but two months, I agreed, although burdened with many duties, to carry on the work until his return, and when some months later he was appointed to the very honorable post of Treasurer of Porto Rico, the alternative was presented to abandon a work which had been promised to appear at a definite time, or to continue it in a more or less unsatisfactory

fashion. I chose the latter course, and printed in the Year Book for 1900–1901, a list, which is no doubt imperfect in many ways, but which may furnish, with the help of the members of the Society, a basis for a perfected list.

Quite a number of corrections have already been supplied, and I hope that more will come. How this work will be continued, or who will carry it on, I am not at the moment prepared to say, but the Society may be assured that it will not be abandoned.

Possibly because I have been connected with both enterprises, I may exaggerate their importance, yet I cannot but feel that two pieces of work, one published during the year, the other to begin publication shortly, are of great interest and value to our Society.

I shall refer first to the proposed Jewish Encyclopædia, which is to appear in twelve volumes, and to cover, as far as a pioneer work can, the history, the literature, the customs, the progress and the development of the Jews from the beginning of their existence down to the present time. In this America will have its full share, indeed in view of the fact that the work is undertaken by an American publishing firm, and is guided by American scholars, we may expect that American Jewish history will have more than the average representation. In many sections of the country, Jewish scholars are now at work preparing historical and biographical articles for the Encyclopædia, and from the actual work thus far done, I can say with confidence that nowhere else will such a body of information relating to the Jews in America, be found presented with such accuracy and such compactness. To this the existence of our Society has powerfully contributed, but while we have given much we shall naturally gain much, since the interest taken in this work will react in favor of such a Society as ours. I bespeak for the Encyclopædia the co-operation of all, as a Jewish literary project more important than any that has ever been undertaken on American soil, and one which will vie with the

greatest of our publications since the invention of printing as well as with the most important works undertaken before that time.

As editor of the American department, of this Encyclopædia, I have had brought very sharply to my attention the deficiencies in our knowledge of the subject and it is largely to speak of these and to recommend for your serious consideration some alterations in the plans of our Society, that I have introduced the topic.

We are extremely deficient in the entire field of sociology, economics and statistics so far as the Jews of this country are concerned. Now, I know that in modern scientific work a very great differentiation has taken place and that these subjects are relegated to an entirely separate class of investigators, but this should not be so in our case, or, at least if a different class of individuals do take up this work it should all be carried on under the auspices of this Society. I should like to see papers presented here on many sociological questions, on the development of education, philanthropy and social organization, upon the religious development, and as a most important and possibly primary need, careful and painstaking studies in Jewish statistics. To those of you who have the willingness to work and who want new subjects, I suggest this field as a comparatively untrodden one although it is true that in the eight volumes thus far published, a few papers upon this phase of our activity have been presented.

The other deficiency which the Encyclopædia work has brought out is our lack of definite knowledge with regard to the organization and growth of our local communities. I think that it may be fairly said that as a beginning in this direction the information, meagre and scanty as it is, furnished in the local directory of the last issue of the American Jewish Year Book, forms a real beginning, but it is only a beginning though one which I hope to see followed up. A broad view can be had of great general trends, only after each unit in a large aggregation is studied and accurately made

known. We shall never be able to write the history of the Jews in America until the history of each community has been separately examined. The study of local history and the publication of the results of that study, are a present great desideratum in our work. Not infrequently has Philadelphia been the leader in Jewish movements and it has been especially so in this field. The pioneer work of Mr. Rosenbach, followed up by the comprehensive volume of Mr. Henry S. Morais, on the Jews of Philadelphia, furnish us the best picture in existence of an American Jewish community. Of the greatest importance have been the investigations of Mr. Max Kohler upon the local history of New York. It would be of substantial service if these could be brought together in monographic form.

The vast extent of the United States and our scattered membership, rendering possible but one meeting a year, and the further fact that the great body of our members, possibly more than three-quarters, reside on the eastern seaboard, and has thus far limited our place of meeting to New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington, has militated against the growth of interest in local history. It is now time I think to enter upon a change in policy and stimulate the growth of local branches which shall meet quarterly for the discussion of topics in local history, whose results, however, shall be published by the central society. I do not propose the formation of any new societies, nor any plan whereby there shall be new dues or new expenditures. Wherever there are members of this Society, they might get together, organize by the election of a chairman and a secretary and hold meetings from time to time to lay out and discuss work which shall afterwards be presented at our annual meetings. The slight expenditure involved in calling meetings should be paid from the central fund, and the local societies or branches of this Society should feel themselves bound by the same regulations and rules as obtain in the central Society. I believe that by this plan the work of the Society would be stimulated

and its membership increased by that most desirable class, those who are actually engaged in historical work. There should be no excess of formality in the matter and as a beginning the members of our council resident in various cities might take upon themselves the task of organizing the proceedings. It is desirable that for the sake of a certain co-ordination the guiding spirit of these local organizations should always be a member of the council and if the growth in number of these should require any enlargement of the membership of the council, I am sure that the Association would be ready to vote the change in the constitution making this practicable.

This Society, as I have said before, is primarily devoted to original investigation, and for the first years of its existence I steadfastly resisted any attempt at engaging in popularizing work or even in endeavoring to popularize the work. I remember very well fifteen years ago or more when the university extension movement was first introduced into this country a very distinguished college president, saying that we had better get universities in America before we proceeded to extend them. I had the same feeling with regard to this Society. It was in a way our first learned Society, the workers were few, the resources were small, and I felt that any attempt at the time to popularize our work would detract from the original investigation which was so absolutely necessary. The workers are still few, and in a given life, one man can do but little, so that even now I hesitate somewhat in making the suggestion, but it seems that the time has come when to a limited extent we may bring our researches before the public in a popular or semi-popular form.

I would suggest that the men who are being trained as leaders of our communities and as teachers in them, should have their minds directed to this subject during their college life. I hope that the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, the Jewish Theological Seminary, at New York, and the

Gratz College at Philadelphia, may, in their curriculum, find a half dozen hours a year for a special course upon American Jewish History. While I do not expect that the Jewish clergy or Jewish teachers shall in any considerable measure devote their time to investigations into American Jewish history, it is but fair to expect that they may have an opportunity of acquainting themselves with its results in order that they in turn may communicate them to the larger public whose ear they will have.

The Chautauqua, Jewish Women's Council, the Young Men's Hebrew Associations, the great number of literary societies, and alumni societies, whether attached to congregations or independent schools, or entirely independent, all provide lectures and essays. May we not ask that in the arrangements of the programmes of these organizations at least one evening in a year shall be devoted to some topic connected with American Jewish history? Whilst the Society should by no means scatter its own forces and engage in this work direct, its members, many of whom are connected with the organizations of which I speak, can indirectly influence them to take up in a popular way the study of the very interesting history of the Jews on the American continent.

I have kept until the last, the most vexed question now confronting the Society, namely, a permanent place for the deposit of its collections. These collections are by no means numerous as yet. We have a few manuscripts, a few rare pamphlets and books, and a few portraits. There have been sent to us in exchange a number of important publications of learned societies which in no way concern our work and which we might very well dispose of. So far there has been placed in our custody as I recall, only one object of any size, and that is a part of the ark, belonging to the synagogue of Joseph Simon in Lancaster, more than 150 years old, which has been placed in the charge of the Society by the Mordecai family of this city, and which for safe keeping,

I have in the name of the Society, deposited in the United States National Museum. It might seem from the statement as to the smallness of the collection that it is hardly worth discussing, yet I feel that we can and should have a collection, and I am certain that there will never be one until a permanent place of deposit is selected, and a live person put in charge, for be it known that in societies as in the rest of the world, resolutions on paper have but little value without there be a mind able to carry them out coupled with a willingness to do so. When this subject was first broached we approached the Aguilar Library in New York City, but on reflection it seemed to be a place not quite suited to our needs. Next, negotiations were entered into with the Young Men's Hebrew Association in New York, but they failed. On my own initiative, I had an informal talk with the Director of the New York Public Library, Doctor Billings, who seemed to be willing to accept the collections of the Society, develop the Jewish collections in the library along the lines of our own needs, and in other ways make a center for students of American Jewish history; but a gentleman to whose opinion I attach great weight, and who himself is greatly interested in the development of the New York Public Library strenuously advised me against this course upon the ground that the collections of our Society, would, perforce, lose their identity in this vast mass of books and manuscripts, and since that objection was urged, there has occurred to me another, that our collections should consist not only of books, nor of papers even, but of objects of historical interest as well, and that possibly after all, a library might not be the best place to preserve them and to exhibit them. Professor Loeb, now a member of the Council, suggested some years ago the desirability of placing our collections in a room in the new Charities Building in New York, and there the matter stands.

My own view is that the collections should be either in New York or in Philadelphia, preferably the former, that

they should be in a fire-proof building, that the office of custodian or curator should be created, that under regulations to be adopted, the publications should be accessible to our members and the portraits or other objects properly framed or placed in cases and at stated times at least, open to visitors. While it may be true that all of these conditions could not be met at once, it would exhibit lack of foresight if they were not all taken into consideration. Understanding these conditions, the Society will be glad to receive aid or suggestions from representative bodies or men in this country as to the solution of the question. So far we ourselves have not been able to solve it. It would seem to me not wholly inappropriate, providing these conditions can be met, that the oldest congregation in existence on the soil of the United States, should constitute itself the custodian of our collections. It would seem that such a body which from its own members would probably be able to contribute more portraits and objects than any other half dozen groups together, and which from its very antiquity should be especially interested in the preservation of historical data would, if its arrangements permitted, furnish the natural resting place for collections which are coæval with the period of its own existence. I refer of course to the Shearith Israel Congregation of New York.

I have intimated before that the Society has had, from one or two unsolicited gifts of money and the income of its own membership, ample funds for its own work and a comfortable balance, but this I would say to you is due to the facts that all the work for the Society has been voluntary and that our resources have been carefully husbanded. Much more could be done if considerable means were at hand. There are many rare MSS. and books which from time to time come into the market bearing directly upon our studies, which should be acquired by the Society, had we a permanent home and a large fund. There are expeditions to be undertaken, with the expenses of travel and payment for services which

would result in vast additions to our present knowledge. Only this year two of our members, Mr. Kohler and Professor Gottheil have been abroad, and made studies in England, Holland, Portugal and Spain, about some of whose results you have already heard, but of course these studies were made at no expense to the Society, save for an occasional copy of an original record. I really believe that if we had the funds to enable one or two good students to make the study of American Jewish history a distinct profession, the results to be obtained would be beyond any conception now had. I can say for one small corner of the subject, namely the history of the Jews in Mexico, to which I have devoted some attention, that if I gave a number of years to this subject alone, the material now unknown and unpublished would not yet be exhausted or that if I had one person whose time I could command, a great light might be thrown upon the migration of Jews to this continent long before there were any settlements in North America.

I fear I may have wearied you in the presentation at such length of what might be called our family affairs, but the Society does now and always has appealed to every one interested not only in the study of the history of the Jews in America, but in American history in general, and we place our cause in the hands of the wider public in the expectation and hope that such of our projects as do not conflict with other and more important needs, will in due time receive recognition and help.

A PLEA FOR AN AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL EXHIBITION.

BY JOSEPH JACOBS, B. A., *New York City.*

I feel a certain difficulty in bringing before the Jewish Historical Society of America a plea for an American Jewish Historical Exhibition. Of course my chief argument in its favor, as your sagacity has already foreseen, will be the advantage it would be to the Society to have collected under one roof and at one time all or most of the materials extant for the history of the Jewish race on this continent. But in reply to the most eloquent description of the probable contents of such an exhibition you have one triumphant retort. You need only point to the goodly series of volumes forming the transactions of your Society and say "These have been made without the aid of any Exhibition. What need of one?" I grant at once the strength of such an argument and yet I will venture to bring forward certain considerations which may perhaps attenuate it.

The difficulty with a Society such as yours lies, I presume, in the fact that much of American Jewish history is family history. That is rightly so, since in family history there is that which gives flesh and bone to all history. Now there is nothing more secretive than a family with an ancient record, especially if it be decayed, and it is generally decayed. A feeling half of modesty, half of pride prevents it giving to the world the evidence of its past greatness and by implication, of its present decadence. But if an appeal were made to these families for a display of their relics in a general Exhibition, the conditions would be at once changed. The qualms of modesty would be allayed, the nobler side of pride, a generous feeling of emulation, would be aroused and you

would be surprised, I believe, at the amount of family history still lying buried in the desks and bureaus of the Jewish Daughters of the Revolution. You would be surprised at the extent and ramifications of what I would venture to call the F. F. J., (the first families of Jewry). Just at present your Society can only come in touch with those it knows; an historical Exhibition would bring to light those whom it does not know.

There is another consideration in favor of an Exhibition as contrasted with a Society. You have few workers and they can only attempt to deal each with one part of a very wide subject at a time, because they have to work up the materials. Just for the present your attention is naturally directed to origins. An Exhibition which only brings together rare materials, and at most catalogues them, can deal in its way with all periods and all sides of the subject. And not alone with all Jewish sides of the subject but with the general historic connection as well, which is so important for your history here in America. Your very distance from Europe, while in one way minimizing hitherto your importance in the general history of Jewry, in another way magnifies it into world historic importance. It has hitherto taken a big European movement to send Jews in any large number across the Atlantic and hence the successive stage of your history connects itself with the great historic movements of Europe. Your *origines* connects itself with the expansion of Spain, the next movement connects itself with the struggle between Spain and Holland which was to lead to the mighty conflict between France and England, of which your Revolution here was but a side issue, in which Jews, as you yourselves have shown, had their part to play. Then came the reaction against the French Revolution, culminating in the Revolution of 1848, and you have still to tell the story how the men of '48, by their keen intellects and cool courage helped to shape much of the Judaism of America and something of the general educational system of the country

between '50 and '80. Finally there was the Russian Exodus of '82 and '91, and we yet await the sacred poet who shall tell of the big things you did and America did in receiving nearly three-quarters of a million souls without turning a hair. All this and more also an Exhibition could display simultaneously and in connection with the general European movements of which they were the outcome, whereas your Society must deal with them piecemeal, and except on rare occasions, disconnected from the more general movements that give them life.

There is another thing which an Exhibition can do for history which a Society can only do on a very small scale. It was Carlyle that first saw what an aid to the historic imagination was afforded by the pictorial arts: a man's portrait, he said, was the best commentary on his deeds. An exhibition affords an occasion for the systematic collection of historic portraits and other historic relics which the transactions of a Society can but seldom offer.

A Society again must depend mainly on its own efforts, and can only reciprocate with other Societies by the somewhat depressing process of exchanging publications. But an Exhibition can appeal more directly and more widely to all institutions having connection with the history and archæology of the country. If, for example, an attempt were made in connection with the Exhibition to compile a bibliography of American Jewish history, without which your studies must necessarily be incomplete, an appeal to all the local historical societies for items would scarcely fail to produce a satisfactory response. An Exhibition can make such an appeal the more effectively, since with it, it is "now or never"; a Society we always have with us.

So far I have been dealing with the subject from what I may call its self-regarding aspect, the various advantages it would bring to the study to which your Society is devoted. But you are men as well as historians, Jews as well as Americans, and it is not therefore irrelevant to point out the effect

of such a collection on the general position of the Jews in this country. It would cause as much a surprise to Jews as to others to find how closely they have been connected with American history from its very beginning and in its very beginning. Let them read Dr. Kayserling's book, may be the reply. But there is some difference between reading about Abraham Zacuto, and the service his astronomical tables were to Columbus and seeing an actual copy of the very book. To see a copy of the very instrument by which Columbus took his observations and to learn it was made by a Jew is something other than merely to read the fact. And so throughout the history.

An Exhibition is an object lesson in history which can be given to the world in no other way, that the Jewish element has been connected with the rise and development of the United States, equally with any of its constituent parts. Before the Jewish element becomes more conspicuous, as it inevitably must, that is a fact which it is worth getting well driven into the national mind. And I know no way more efficacious than an American Jewish Exhibition, on the committee of which would naturally be others than Jews. And if an Exhibition succeeded in arousing outside interest, that would react in the well known way within the community making Jews prouder of and more interested in their own history in this country. This again would react, in the best way on your own Society by giving you more subscribers, and what is even of greater consequence, more workers.

I pass over more briefly several subsidiary advantages. If it should be found desirable to supplement the purely historical side by a display of objects of ecclesiastical art, for the sake of the ladies, the Exhibition might help towards increased attractiveness for Jewish cultus both in home and synagogue. If a further supplementary show of Palestine antiquities were added, you might attract the conscious and the unconscious Zionism which appeals so strongly to every

Jewish heart. But these would serve but as annexes from our present point of view, which regards an historical Exhibition mainly for the sake of the impetus it would give to historic studies.

Here I must be content to leave the matter. Practical details—whether such an Exhibition should be held in New York or Philadelphia, the only two possible alternatives, whether a special Russian section be not arranged for with a committee from present members of the Russian contingent, what financial connection should exist between the Society and the Exhibition—are obviously subsidiary questions dependent on the more vital one whether this Society approves of the general principle of holding in the near future an American Jewish Historical Exhibition, to collect and exhibit all objects connected with the history of the Jewish race on this continent from the earliest times. If it were in order I would beg to move that it be referred to a special committee to report on the advisability of holding such an exposition to a general meeting of your Society, to be held not later than May 1st of next year, and I would place at the disposal of such committee any information I may possess as to means and methods learnt in a former experience.

The thing will come, gentlemen, sooner or later. I am very anxious that it should come in the most appropriate way under the auspices of the American Jewish Historical Society of America. We would then have a guarantee that the American Jewish Historical Exhibition would be conducted and arranged with knowledge, with discretion, in good taste and in a practical way.

FRAY JOSEPH DIAZ PIMIENTA, ALIAS
ABRAHAM DIAZ PIMIENTA,

AND THE AUTO-DE-FÉ HELD AT SEVILLE, JULY 25, 1720.

BY PROF. RICHARD GOTTHEIL, *Columbia University, New York.*

During a visit to Seville, in September, 1900, I made a search for documents which might be of interest to students of Jewish History. In the municipal archives of the city I came across an account of an auto-de-fé held there on July 25, 1720. As it deals largely with a man who lived in the Island of Cuba, I thought it might be of interest to the American Jewish Historical Society, and had the whole of it copied. The official signature of the document is "Auto-de-Fé de 25 de Julio de 1720. Archives Municipal de Seville—Papeles y documentos del Conde del Aguila—Tomo 4º, Número 54." I have to thank Señor Luis Jiminez-Placer, attaché of the Archives, for the copy which he made, and Mr. William Milwitzki of New York, for the assistance he has given me in explaining the Spanish text. In the following I have given an abstract of the manuscript. The opening words are :

"Auto-de-fé, which the sacred tribunal of the Inquisition of this town of Seville celebrated at the royal convent of San Pueblo, of the order of the Preaching Friars, on the day of St. Jacob, the 25th of July, 1720." It is interesting to find the note added that there had been no degradation at Seville since the year 1632, a period of nearly one hundred years. At this auto six accused persons appeared ; the one a priest, the subject of this paper, was degraded in the square of Saint

Francis in the presence of the bishop of Licopoli, Don Fray Joseph Esquibal and a large concourse of people.

The history of this priest is certainly an interesting one and might form the ground work for a soul-stirring boys' story. It would be hard to say what crime he did not commit, though I cannot possibly vouch for the truth of the statements made, which depend entirely upon the charges of the Inquisition. Fray Joseph Diaz Pimienta, alias Abraham Diaz Pimienta, was a shoed priest (in distinction to the bare-footed monks) of the order of Our Lady of Benevolence. He originally belonged to the convent of Santa Maria del Principe in the Island of Cuba. The document says that he pretended to have been born at San Juan de los Remedios. According to his baptismal papers he was thirty-two years old, but from private information in his possession he declared that he was thirty-six. He was a Christian, baptized and confirmed in the town of Havana. He had been a priest since the year 1708 and had said mass for the last time on the day of St. Bartholomew in 1714, at a place called Marconado, near Rio de la Hacha. He had studied grammar and morals at the convent of La Puebla de los Angeles; to what effect he had studied the latter of these two we shall see in a moment. At the age of nine his father sent him to Havana, where he studied for two years and a half, after which he went to the convent of Our Lady of Benevolence as a lay member of the order, awaiting the proper age to take the garb of the monk. He was admitted as monk on the 24th of September, and took the oath on the day of Our Lady of Carmel, 1706.

Very shortly after this time the pranks of our monk commenced. Within two months he had a quarrel and escaped with two other priests, remaining in the house of his parents about ten months. He then returned to the convent, and a year and a half afterwards made a request of his superiors to go somewhere to complete his studies, but the necessary permission was not given him. He again fled the convent,

going first to Caracas, then to Vera Cruz, and finally to Puebla de Los Angeles. Here he forged his baptismal papers in order to get a written permission from the bishop that he might be ordained a priest. He was successful, for the bishop appointed him to the office of sub-deacon of his own order. Armed with this permission he said mass at Vera Cruz. After four months he returned to Havana, where the bishop deprived him of all his titles upon learning that he was not of the necessary age to be ordained. After wandering about for twenty days he returned to his convent to spend there the years of his novitiate. But in a short while he escaped, was arrested and put into the stocks, from which also he seemed to have been able to extricate himself. Two months later he was taken prisoner again, put into the stocks and kept chained there for the space of two months. Upon being pardoned he was sent to the convent of Arta, where he remained for ten days. Being in want of money he went to the French colony of Prechiguan and after three months to Puerto del Principe in Cuba. Here he forged a letter from his bishop, giving him permission to go to New Spain. Upon one occasion, the document says, he returned home as a sort of interlude in order to steal some mules that belonged to his mother. While thus engaged, he fired upon a servant, inflicting upon him seven wounds. Knowing that the church authorities of Havana were after him, he embarked in a cutter but was taken by English corsairs, who after eight days of imprisonment, put him down on the promontory of Icacos, on the Island of Cuba. From there he went to Trinidad where a priest who knew him certified to his clerical character, and after twenty days he was sent to collect alms in Cabanas de Tilu. He became sub-vicar at Pueblo, was successively at Tarimtos and San Benito Atad, and various other places. While sub-vicar he had a love affair with a certain woman and as the man who supported this lady threatened to kill him, he went about armed with pistols, which he once used upon a mulatto who struck him for having refused to give him a marriage license.

I pass over some of his other crimes, or other reputed crimes, but it is interesting to find that at one time he pretended to be a minister of the Inquisition itself, which act also brought him into trouble. We then hear of him as embarking in a Dutch cutter which was about to sail for Curaçao, where he intended to become a Jew, since money was given for such an act, he having known of persons who had done this and had received three hundred pesetas. But, the document adds, he wished to become a Jew in such a manner as not to be obliged to flog the crucifix or the other holy images. He arrived at Curaçao on the 6th of February, 1715, and in a conversation with a Jew there, he said: "You Jews are bad men, for you flog crucifixes and images." To which the Jew replied, that they did no such thing, for in the first place it would be a very great sin to have the images in one's possession. Pimienta thereupon abandoned his priestly garb and went to live at the house of the Jew who had been the godfather of the convert who had received the three hundred pesetas. He told him that he, his mother and his grandmother, had all been Jews; that his mother had advised him to live in a place where Jews were; that he was fleeing from the Inquisition, which had forced him, together with sixty-four women and two men, to accept Christianity, and had deprived him of all his possessions; by which lies, the document adds, he meant to obtain money from the Jews and then to flee. In answer to a question, he said that he had no doubt that the Messiah had not yet come. The cross-examination through which he was put must evidently not have been satisfactory, for we read that one of the Jews remarked to the other that although this individual had been a theological student, he was very ignorant of holy writ, and that on account of this they would place certain books in his hands to read.

Pimienta was then taken by the Jews to Palma. Upon his stating that his mother had been a Jewess, a negro servant was given him and he was treated to chocolate. The

Jews also gave him some books containing Jewish laws, which are that the spoon which serves for butter cannot be employed in eating meat, nor the knife nor the plate; that the Sabbath was to be observed with no lighting of candles nor was he to smoke; all of which precepts numbered one hundred and thirty-two. Other books given him were the Bible in vernacular Spanish, the Prophets, and a book called "Oronio" which contained things contrary to the faith. He read these books as well as one called "Talamontein,"¹ which treated of the genealogy of Our Lady and which said that she had been the wife of Señor Don Joseph, that the latter had not been the father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, but some one called Juan Pandera. He experienced many scruples in partaking of Jewish meals and would certainly have fled his new friends had he not been afraid of the Sacred Tribunal. The Jews still hesitated to receive him, and wished to send him to Amsterdam, but he refused to go to a country which was so cold, it being very warm at Curaçao at that moment. He tried to have a letter sent to his parents, telling them of his condition. This, being intercepted, he told the Jews that he had acted merely for the purpose of regaining possession of his wealth and of then declaring that the Law of Moses would endure forever. The document says that he wished to accompany his godfather to the seashore, intending to throw the Jewish books into the sea, but the Jews removed him to a village a mile and a half away. We are then told that he took the lessons of his teachers to heart and tried to become a good Jew. He tore up his rosary, saying, "If these things are of God, let flowers grow out from them. Then shall I believe in the Lord Jesus." But as no flowers grew, he entered the covenant of Abraham on May 21, 1714, and assumed the name of Abraham. For doing this he received ninety-four pesetas and a great festival was held in honor of the occasion. After two

¹ Is this the distorted name of the polemical Ma'asē Tālui or, as it was also called, Tōl'dōt Yēshū?

weeks he was taught to recite the following prayer evening and morning: "Sema Israel Adonai elonvchad Bar-runsech, Malarto le Olavafet,"¹ of which he only understood "Adonai," which means God.

Another prayer in Spanish is as follows: "Thou shalt love Adonai, thy God, with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy knowledge; and these words which I command you to-day, thou shalt bind upon thy hand and place them as *tifilim* upon thy eyes, and thou shalt write them in thy houses and upon thy doors that thy days may multiply, and those of thy sons as Adonai has sworn."

They gave him the *fitilin* (*tifilim*), which is, the manuscript says, a sort of tiara with small ornamented sticks sewed on, the whole of which is attached to the head and descends to the left arm, making a turn until it ends at the middle finger; all of which, he was told, meant the fear of God.

He performed all other ceremonies and then went in a cutter to Bahia Honda, where he collected more than five hundred pesetas so that he might keep up all the Jewish regulations, but he found these too numerous and observed none at all except when some Jew was present.

He went back to Curaçao and on the way recited litanies of Our Lady and the Salvas, being already tired of being¹ a Jew or out of a certain veneration which he still felt for the Catholic faith. While here he observed neither the Jewish nor the Christian law, so that a Lutheran Dutchman remonstrated with him, saying that having been born a Christian, and having turned a Jew, it were better that he had never been born. He therefore began reading a book, entitled "The New Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ," a very Catholic work, and began to repent of having become a Jew.

He seems once more to have taken up the wanderer's staff. He put out in a boat, and after three days on the open

¹ It is no wonder that the Shema¹ has been thus distorted by a scribe ignorant of Hebrew.

sea was taken, near the Island of Oruba, by corsairs and brought to Jamaica, where a Jew who knew him gave him assistance. On one occasion here in Jamaica, he wished to throw the book of the New Testament into the fire, but he seemed to see blood come out of it and, taking this as a sign from heaven, he decided to retire from among the Jews. Yet in spite of this decision he twice attended services in the synagogue, during which time he recited all the Catholic prayers. While in Jamaica he associated with many Catholics and he decided to go to Rome. In the meanwhile he baptized with his own hands, two Jewish children, but, learning that the Inquisition or the Jews were after him, he fled with fifteen Indians and one Jew, and wreaked his vengeance on the latter by flogging him daily, making him eat ham and recite the names of the Holy Trinity. After a while he had trouble with the Indians, fought a battle with them and was left for dead on the field. After many vicissitudes he came to a camp where he was seized, put in chains, and taken to Rio de la Hacha. Here he played the fool, praying for twenty days according to Catholic rites and just as many according to Jewish. He said that if he came before the Tribunal he would be a Christian, if he could escape to Curaçao he would be a Jew. He also called upon the devil to free him from his prison, promising his soul in return for this favor. He was taken before the Tribunal of Carthagena and was judged at the auto-de-fé in the convent of Santo Domingo, on June 20, 1715, wearing the garb of a penitent, namely, a cloth in the form of two crosses. He recanted, was reconciled and ordered to live permanently in a convent of his own order in Spain. He left Carthagena in April, 1718, arriving at Cadiz in the month of August in the same year. Here at Cadiz he escaped, together with another prisoner, but was apprehended at Xerez, when he was chained and placed in a convent.

Having heard that there were Jewish families in Xeres and Cadiz, he wrote to a number of them, asking them to come and see him as he could not go to see them. The

manuscript says that he did this in order to avenge himself upon the Jews of Curaçao. To the Jews of Cadiz, he wrote, begging for the loan of twenty-five doubloons, which would be paid in Jamaica to certain persons, giving the names of the most prominent Jews as well as of some Jews of Curaçao. Of course he received no answers to these letters. After two months he wrote to the commissary of the Sacred Tribunal: "Señor Mio, May your Grace take notice that I am still a Jew and that I shall always remain one; but I shall gladly die for this and may your Grace therefore come as quickly as possible to take me to the Inquisition." This note he signed Abraham Diaz Pimienta. He did this, we are told, with the idea that the Jews of Xerez would hear of it and give him money.

A short time after this he escaped from the convent, slept that night in a barn and took the road to Seville. He took off his holy garb and, upon arriving at Puebla de Coria, asked the captain of an English boat to take him aboard, as he wished to go to Jamaica. The captain, however, advised him to go to Lisbon, as his flight from there would be attended with less danger. At Lisbon, pretending to be a seaman, he was taken aboard a Dutch vessel, but before the ship sailed, he changed his mind and returned to Seville, where the Inquisition got hold of him and put him in prison.

Called before the first audience, he gave a short history of his life, saying he was a son and grandson of old Christians who originally came from Cadiz, and that ever since the auto of Carthagená, he had been a Christian; that while in prison he had confessed himself every four or eight days, and that the letters which he had written at Xerez were meant to deceive the Jews of that place, and to take vengeance on those of Curaçao. Though he repeated these statements at the second and third audiences, when the "Alcaydi" visited him in his cell, he was sorrowful and confessed that he had committed a great sin, since he had denied that he was really a Jew, stating that from the time he had entered the Covenant of Abraham at Curaçao he had

followed the law of Moses; that he had kept the Sabbath while here in prison; that he had not eaten of ham nor of meat that had not been properly killed. He was then charged with all that he had said, whereupon he declared that he knew only one God, the Creator of all things, and one in person only; that he recited the fifteen psalms of assent, but without the Gloria Patri, as well as another prayer which the Jews of Curaçao had taught him and in which he asked for God's mercy. He declined to consult an advocate and would have signed the confession at once, had it not been the Sabbath day. For the space of two months the most learned men of Seville were sent to him, but he remained strong in his error, whereupon he was condemned to a public auto-de-fé, to be degraded, declared a heretic and apostate, and given over to the secular arm.

On Monday, the 22d of July, at eight o'clock in the morning, he was notified that he would be put to death on the Thursday following, which notice he received with a quiet and contented mind. As soon as his case became known in the city, prayers were offered up for the salvation of his soul. On Wednesday, however, at two in the afternoon, he accepted the Catholic faith and confessed himself several times. On Thursday, the 25th, early in the morning, he said mass and administered the Holy Eucharist. Towards six o'clock in the morning he left with the other culprits for the public auto, on the Plaza de San Francisco, where he was delivered over to the secular arm, which pronounced the legal verdict of death, declaring that since clemency had been asked, the culprit was to be put to death by strangulation, and afterwards his body was to be burnt. In the evening towards six o'clock, he was placed on an ass and taken through the streets that led to the burning-place, accompanied by a vast crowd. Here he stopped to confess his sins, begged pardon for the bad example he had given and asked to be burnt alive so that no one might say that his conversion was due to fear. This request, however, was not granted. He was strangled and died with ease. The doc-

ument adds: "When only half of the twist had been given he died without moving his legs. His body was immediately clothed in the mantle and cap of the convict, and thus he was burnt. The crowds remained until dawn and it must be remarked that no bad odor resulted from the burning, as happens in other cases."

It might be as well to add the names of the other five who were brought up at this auto-de-fé. The second culprit was Beatriz del Valle, aged 70 years, born at Zara, inhabiting Cadiz, a merchant of linens. She was reconciled, sentenced to two hundred lashes, to the penitential garb and to perpetual imprisonment.

The third victim was Sebastian de la Pena, born at Zara, inhabiting Cadiz, and son of the above mentioned Beatriz. His age was twenty-eight. He was sentenced to suffer the same punishment as his mother.

The fourth victim was Rosa de la Pena, sister of Sebastian, aged nineteen. She received a similar sentence.

The fifth was Melchor de Molina, born at Osuna, inhabiting Seville, aged forty-four, merchant of linens, accused of Judaizing. One of the charges against him was that on a certain occasion, harboring at his house in the city of Ronda many professors of his law, they wished to start on a journey on the Sabbath, whereupon the accused reproached them as follows: "Good observers of the Law of Moses you indeed are. Do you not know that the Sabbath, according to our law, is so sacred that nothing can be done on that day; to such an extent that if any one raises his hand to his head on the Sabbath in order to scratch himself, his hand retains the position so that he cannot move it until evening." He was reconciled and sentenced to two hundred lashes, seven years in the galleys, and after that perpetual imprisonment and the penitential garb.

The last victim was Manuel Rodriguez, born at Malaga, aged forty years. He also was accused of Judaizing, was reconciled and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment and the penitential garb.

THE EARLY JEWISH SETTLEMENT AT LANCASTER, PENNSYLVANIA.

BY HENRY NECARSULMER, A. M., LL.B., *New York.*

On May 2, 1727, Lancaster County was erected. In 1730 the town of that name was laid out.

The earliest record extant of the Jewish settlement at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, seems to be that of a deed dated the 3d day of February, 1747, from Thomas Cookson, (County Register and the first burgess of the Borough of Lancaster)¹ to Isaac Nunus Ricus and Joseph Simons, which name should read Simon, conveying a half acre of land in the township of Lancaster to said grantees, "In trust for the Society of Jews settled in and about Lancaster, to have and use the same as a burying ground."²

In the "Journal of Treaty with Six Nations by Commissioners of Maryland and other provinces at Lancaster, June 1744," there are references to Jewish Settlers at that place and to Jewesses "not long since come from New York."³

A letter from Richard Locke (dated Lancaster, April 11, 1747), to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, contains the following singular classification in the list of sects represented at Lancaster:

¹ Vol. 25, No. 11, whole No. 534, *The Jewish Exponent*, article entitled "An old Lancaster Cemetery" by Monroe B. Hirsch of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, June 27, 1897.

² A complete copy of this deed is contained in *The American Jews' Annual* for 1893, pp. 96-98. Original deed recorded in Recorder's Office of Lancaster County, in Record Book B, p. 441 etc., June 29, 1747. See Appendix I.

³ *Notes and Queries (Egle)* 3d. Series, vol. I, pp. 278 and 291.

"7 Number of
Heathens
and Infidels.

Here are less Quakers than in many other counties and but very few Indians appear—here are ten families of Jews."¹

In "A list of persons that have intituled themselves to the benefit of the Act (13 Geo. II.) for naturalizing such Foreign Protestants and others therein mentioned as are settled or that shall settle in any of his Majesty's Colonies in America," appear the following names: Pennsylvania, March 25, 1749, Joseph Simon, a Jew, Lancaster County; Joseph Solomon, Lancaster, a Jew, sworn on the Old Testament.²

The following quaint card published by Dr. Isaac Cohen in Lancaster in 1747 is of interest in connection with the Lancaster settlement:

"Dr. Isaac Cohen from Hamburg in Germany, who studied seven years in the City of Copenhagen, informs the public that he has lately arrived in Lancaster, where he intends to practice physie and the art of healing, at the house of John Hatz, inn keeper, at the sign of the Penn. Arms, North Queen Street . . . N. B. Poor persons cured gratis if they can show a certificate from a clergyman that they are really poor. He expects letters addressed to him to be postpaid and those who live at a distance and desire his aid will please send a horse for him."³

A directory of the town of Lancaster in 1780 compiled from the assessment roll of that year contains the following names which appear to be those of Jews:

Among shopkeepers: Bernard Jacob, Sampson Lazarus, Andrew Levy, Aaron Levy, Meyer Solomon, Joseph Simon.

Among other Hebrews referred to as residing at Lancaster about the same time are, Levy Marks and Simon Solomon, shopkeeper.⁴

¹ *Penn. Magazine of History and Biog.*, vol. XXIV, p. 475, Jan., 1901.

² *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 5, pp. 111 and 117.

³ Ellis & Evans, *History of Lancaster Co.*, p. 250.

⁴ Christopher Marshall's *Diary of the American Revolution*, kept

The leading figure in the Lancaster settlement was unquestionably Joseph Simon, one of the above named trustees of the cemetery, who has frequently been referred to in various publications.

He came to Lancaster about 1735, according to Markens,¹ and about 1740 according to Ellis and Evans' *History of Lancaster County* (p. 18), and soon became one of the most prominent Indian traders and merchants, and one of the largest land-holders in Pennsylvania, in fact in America,—his enterprises extending not only over Pennsylvania, but to Ohio and Illinois and to the Mississippi River.

In the Indian Territory he had an interest in business with Barnard and Michael Gratz, David Franks, Etting, (Robert) Challender, William Trent, Alexander Lowrey and others. He was one of the twenty-two or twenty-three traders attacked by the Indians at Bloody Run in 1763 and lost a large amount of goods.²

"Simon's store was the largest in Lancaster and was situated in Penn Square in the center of the town. Levy Andrew Levy was a partner in this store for many years and his (Simon's) sons-in-law, Levi Phillips, Solomon M. Cohen, Simon (which should, according to *American Jewish Historical Society*, Pub. I, p. 122, read Michael) Gratz and Solomon Etting, (1784) who had previously lived in York, Pennsylvania,³ were also at various periods associated with him. Another son-in-law was Dr. Nicholas Schuyler, of Albany, a surgeon in the Revolutionary Army."⁴

in Philadelphia and Lancaster during the American Revolution 1774-1781, edited by Wm. Duane, Albany, 1877, at p. 204 under Nov. 8, at p. 208 under Dec. 24, 1778.

¹*The Hebrews in America*, 1888.

²Ellis & Evans, *Hist. of Lancaster Co.*, p. 18; also vol. III., No. 7, p. 165 etc., *Pub. Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc.*, "Sketch of Joseph Simon" by Samuel Evans.

³Markens, p. 80.

⁴Extract from Markens' *The Hebrews in America*, p. 79. See also sketch of Joseph Simon, read before Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc., March 3, 1899, vol. III., No. 7, *Pub. Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc.*

In partnership with William Henry, Joseph Simon supplied the Continental army with rifles, ammunition, drums, blankets, provisions and supplies.¹

Joseph Simon died at the age of ninety-two years on January 24, 1804. Over his grave in the cemetery at Lancaster there is a tombstone bearing inscriptions in both Hebrew and English. Of the former a verbatim copy is given in Ellis and Evans' *History of Lancaster County* (p. 471) as follows :

“And Joseph gave up the ghost
and died in a good old age
An old man, and full of years
and was gathered to his people.”
“Joseph Simon
Departed this life

the 12th day of the month Shebat, in the year 5565, corresponding with the 24th day of January, 1804, aged 92 years, in a good old age.

“And he walked with God, and he was not; for God took him.”

The same work (p. 471) contains the following abstract from the tombstone of Rosa Simon (née Bunn) the wife of Joseph Simon :

“The Body of Mrs. Rosa Simon
wife to
Mr. Joseph Simon
who departed this life
the 3rd day of May, 1796 in
the 69th year of her age.”

¹ See “Jews mentioned in the Journal of the Continental Congress,” *Am. Jewish Hist. Soc. Pub.*, No. I, pp. 66 and 67, referring to Journals of the Continental Congress, November 2nd, 1775, September 25th, 1776, April 26th, 1777, November 11th, 1777, November 7th, 1778, August 29th, 1778. See also Ellis & Evans, *Hist. of Lancaster Co.*

Near-by is a slab marking the remains of "Rachael Etting (wife of Solomon Etting, already referred to), who departed this life on Jan. 14, 1790."¹

Solomon Etting is probably the same person referred to by Morais (p. 392-3) as born at York, Pennsylvania, in 1764, and as being "mentioned among the representative citizens who signed an address expressing disapproval of a proposed treaty with Great Britain." Later he "removed to Baltimore and took a considerable part in its municipal affairs, occupying different positions, among them that of a member of its City Council in 1825 and later on president of that body. He died in Baltimore in 1847."

Ellis and Evans' *History of Lancaster County* contains the following note on Solomon Etting :

"An Indian trader, Lodge 43 F. A. M., was granted a warrant April 21, 1785. The lodge was installed by Solomon Etting, a charter member who was at the time a Past Worshipped Master of some other lodge. He was also its first treasurer and was Worshipped Master of the lodge from June 1790 to June 1791."

Besides the three tombstones already adverted to, Ellis and Evans mention but two others in the ancient cemetery at Lancaster, one a small slab bearing a Hebrew inscription, the other a large one, which "bears an inscription apparently in Hebrew, but indecipherable." One of these tombstones marks the remains of Joseph Solomon, who died February 9, 1779, aged sixty-nine years.²

Markens states (p. 80) that "on July 5, 1773, the different tribes of the Indian nations in Illinois conveyed to twenty-two residents of Lancaster and of the surrounding Country a tract of land which now embraces the southern half of Illinois. Eight Hebrews were interested in its purchase. They were Moses Franks, Jacob Franks, David

¹ *Ib.*, p. 472.

² *Pub. Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. III, No. 7, p. 171.

Franks, Barnard Gratz, Michael Gratz, Moses Franks, Jr., Joseph Simon, Levy Andrew Levy."¹

No mention is found elsewhere than in the above statement of Markens, that either Moses Franks, Jacob Franks, David Franks, or Moses Franks, Jr., ever resided in or near Lancaster.²

Statements in other records seem on the other hand to indicate their residence in New York, Philadelphia and elsewhere.

Moreover, on account of the vast extent of Joseph Simon's enterprises, it is more likely that his associates or some of them had settled elsewhere than in Lancaster.

Michael Gratz was a brother of Barnard Gratz who settled in Philadelphia. Michael Gratz was born in Langenbach, Upper Silesia, Germany, in 1740. He resided at different times in Lancaster and in Philadelphia, eventually removing to the latter place where he was, in 1791, in partnership with his brother Barnard.³ He married Miriam, daughter of Joseph Simon of Lancaster, on June 20, 1769. Some of their children held prominent positions in Philadelphia.⁴

Levy Andrew Levy's interest in Joseph Simon's business ceased⁵ in 1778, when he and Susanna, his wife, conveyed it to Aaron Levy, also a storekeeper in Lancaster.⁶

Aaron Levy was born in Amsterdam, Holland, in 1742. About 1760 he came to America where he became a prominent land speculator and Indian trader, taking up his resi-

¹ *Pub. Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. III, No. 7, p. 170.

² See, in this connection subscription list dated Lancaster, Pa., Sept. 12, 1777, signed by Barnard Gratz, Joseph Simon, Levy Andrew Levy, Levy Marks and Myer Solomon, for the purpose of hiring "one or more proper persons to ride between Lancaster and General Washington's Army with and for intelligence." *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 8, p. 148.

³ Morais, p. 25.

⁴ Morais. See also *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 2, p. 121, note by Miriam Gratz Mordecai, a descendant of Michael Gratz.

⁵ According to Markens, p. 80.

⁶ *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 2, p. 157.

dence in the town of Northumberland, Pennsylvania. "His name also appears as a shopkeeper in Lancaster, in the directory of 1780, compiled from the assessment roll of that year.¹ At that time he was a partner of Joseph Simon."² During the Revolution Aaron Levy loaned large sums of money to the American colonists.³ In 1782 he removed to Philadelphia, where he died February 23, 1815, without leaving any issue.

In the list of attorneys of Lancaster County, contained in *An Authentic History of Lancaster County in the State of Pennsylvania*, by J. I. Mombert, D. D.,⁴ the names of Sampson Levy, admitted to the bar in 1787, and Joseph Simon Cohen, admitted in 1813, are to be found.

Sampson Levy is very interestingly described in Morais' *Jews of Philadelphia*, (p. 39). He was a younger brother of Moses Levy, a leader of the bar of his time. Both brothers appear to have practiced law in Philadelphia, where they achieved great prominence. Sampson Levy, who is described as a very eccentric personage, became a convert to the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Joseph Simon Cohen is referred to by Morais⁵ as having been born between 1788 and 1790. He was a grandson of Joseph Simon of Lancaster. He was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania. On May 24, 1813, he was admitted to the bar in Philadelphia. From 1840 to 1853 he was Prothonotary of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. He died in Philadelphia, February 3, 1858.

Michael W. Ash, a member of Congress from 1835 to 1837, serving on the committee on Naval Affairs, who has

¹ Ellis & Evans, *History of Lancaster County*, pp. 369, 370.

² *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 2, p. 156, etc. Paper on "Aaron Levy," by Mrs. Isabella H. Rosenbach and Abraham S. Wolf Rosenbach of Philadelphia.

³ Morais, p. 50, note 65 and p. 23.

⁴ Published by J. E. Barr, Lancaster, 1869.

⁵ *Ib.*, pp. 412, 432.

been frequently referred to as a Jew,¹ was a gentile as the writer has recently been informed by Dr. Cyrus Adler, who has his information from former acquaintances of Michael W. Ash.

As indicating the support of the American cause by Jewish residents, it is interesting to note that one, Joshua Isaacs took the Oath of Allegiance at Lancaster, as shown by the subjoined copy of the certificate to that effect.²

Joshua Isaacs was a descendant of one of the early Portuguese Jewish settlers in this country, his father having also been born on this continent. Joshua Isaacs married Brandly Lazarus at Lancaster on March 28, 1781. Their first child, Frances, was born at Lancaster June 9, 1783, and subsequently married Harmon Hendricks at New York City, to which place Joshua Isaacs had removed shortly after 1783.

The late Lewis I. Cohen, of Philadelphia, who was born at Lancaster in 1800, often related that his father, Joseph Cohen, who in 1766 at the age of twenty-one came to Philadelphia, was in the Revolutionary army and on guard in Philadelphia the night Lord Cornwallis was captured, October 19, 1781.³

I have been unable thus far to find any records showing the existence of a permanent synagogue or of a regular Jewish congregational organization at Lancaster, at the time of its early settlement. For a search for such records I am indebted to the Rev. Isidore Rosenthal of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Nor does there appear to be any tradition of the existence of any such building or congregation in Lancaster proper, though there is no doubt that regular

¹Lewis Abraham's on the American Jew as a Politician in *American Jews' Annual*, 1888; also *Am. Jewish Year Book*, 1900-1901, p. 517; Markens, p. 184.

²See Appendix II.

³The information contained in this statement was given to the writer by Miss Mary M. Cohen of Philadelphia.

religious services were held in a sort of private synagogue maintained in the house of Joseph Simon. A portion of the ark used in this private synagogue has recently been presented to the American Jewish Historical Society.

A clause in the will of Joseph Simon provided that the "silver plate used for religious worship" in his family and two scrolls of the law were to remain in the family of the testator's son-in-law and executor, Levi Phillips, during the latter's lifetime after which they were bequeathed to the Philadelphia synagogue.¹

It is extremely unlikely that this residuary bequest would have been made to the Philadelphia synagogue had there been a permanent Jewish house of worship in Lancaster at that time.

The fact, that many of the Jews of Lancaster were among the supporters of the congregation Mikvé Israel of Philadelphia, is also an indication that they had no local synagogue.

Nor is there any mention of a synagogue at Lancaster in the lists of houses of worship at the time of which we speak.²

However, in a letter dated Lancaster, March 17, 1789, indorsed "Rough Draft of Letter to Senators and Representatives in Congress respecting the Permanent Residence of Congress," it was stated that "there are seven places of Public Worship, besides a temporary Synagogue" in the Borough of Lancaster.³

It should also be noted, that in the "Statistics of the Jews of the United States" published by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, September, 1880, there is a statement that in 1776 a congregation was organized at Lancaster.

As has already been pointed out, none of the five sons-

¹ Markens, p. 82.

² See list of churches in Lancaster, Pa., by Sherman Day in *Historical Collections of Pennsylvania* (1843).

³ II. *Historical Register: Notes and Queries*, No. 1, pp. 301-302.

in-law of Joseph Simon took up a permanent residence in Lancaster. It is more than likely that their families had already removed from there before Joseph Simon's demise. Markens states that after the latter event these five families removed to Philadelphia, (p. 82). The two sons left by Joseph Simon appear to have been weak-minded.

According to Markens (p. 82)¹ no interment took place in the Jewish cemetery at Lancaster after 1804, until 1855, shortly before which date a new Jewish influx to Lancaster took place, giving rise to the present Jewish community.

It thus seems, that the early Jewish settlement of Lancaster, after an existence of more than half a century, disappeared as a community leaving no known official records other than the above-mentioned cemetery deed.

The old Jewish cemetery at Lancaster came into the possession of the congregation Shaaray Shomayim (Gates of Heaven) soon after its organization by residents of Lancaster and the vicinity, on February 25, 1855. This congregation was incorporated on May 4, 1856. On September 22, 1867, its synagogue was dedicated.²

The old burying-ground has been fenced in and the inner enclosure thereof divided into two parts by a gravel walk. The eastern section is kept undisturbed, and no burials are made there.³

The *Occident* (Vol. 13, No. 7, p. 368) of October, 1855, referring to the organization at that time of the Congregation Shaaray Shomayim, counting about sixty souls—men, women and children—states that Jacob Herzog, its president, who had “supplied the synagogue at an expense of about seven hundred (\$700.00) dollars, contributed to the burying-ground (which, having belonged to the ancient Jewish in-

¹ See also Ellis & Evans' *History of Lancaster County*.

² See article from the *Examiner* of Lancaster in vol. 43, No. 12, *Am. Israelite*, Sept. 17, 1896.

³ Ellis & Evans, *History of Lancaster County*, p. 471, (1883).

habitants, who had long since either moved away or died out, had fallen into unauthorized hands, he had secured again for its former object, at great trouble and after much vexation) full three hundred (\$300.00) dollars." This article refers to the former hospitality of the "family of Joseph Simon, many of whose descendants reside in Philadelphia and elsewhere, though none live any more at Lancaster."

Ellis and Evans write: "The cemetery is cared for through the agency of the Phillips, Cohn, Gratz and other families of Philadelphia, Richmond and New York, whose ancestors are believed to be buried there."¹

In a communication to the *Jewish Exponent*² Mr. Monroe B. Hirsch, of Lancaster, states that "it is due to the generous response in 1884 of the late Horace Moses, a great-grandson of Joseph Simon, to the late Herman Hirsch, then president of the congregation (Shaaray Shomayim), that the steps were taken which to-day enable us to pride ourselves upon the excellent condition of the ancient cemetery. It is . . . adorned by many handsome monuments to the dead of the past two generations as well as those of the eighteenth century."

In a recent work by Julius Friedrich Sachse, entitled, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, 1708-1742*, (Phila., 1899), in Chapter IX, a potent influence on the religious rights and customs of the New Dunkers of the Conestoga, a regular corporate body of the German Baptist Brethren, from December, 1724, in the vicinity of Lancaster, is ascribed to the Jewish settlements, including that of which we have been speaking.

It is well known that religious discussions were rife among the German Christian settlers in Pennsylvania. The leader of the New Dunkers was Conrad Beissel. One of the customs of this sect was the observance of the seventh day as the Sabbath. From this custom it was argued, that if it was

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 471.

² Vol. 25, No. 11, whole No. 534, July 2, 1897.

proper to follow the Scriptures in this regard, they should be followed in general, and so many of these sectarians refused to eat pork, or to eat other food which had been cooked in vessels in which pork had ever been kept, and otherwise insisted on obedience to the Mosaic law—giving rise to the report that Beissel and his adherents were really attempting to revive Judaism.

Mr. Sachse does not ascribe this return to Jewish customs to the reading of the Scriptures alone, but to contact of the German Christian settlers, "whose reason was almost dethroned by religious excitement," with the Jewish traders, "who had sojourned in the vicinity of Schaefferstown (about twenty miles north of Lancaster) as far back as 1720." Mr. Sachse does not state whence these Jewish traders came, but expresses the belief that the pioneers came without their families, with no intention of settling, but merely to barter, and that they were not numerous enough to form a distinctive settlement or congregation, until some time later, when some Jewish traders, married and settled down, are found.

Mr. Sachse goes on to state (*Ib.*, p. 117) that as a result of the intercourse with these Jewish settlers, "several German (Christian) families in the old township of Heidelberg actually returned to the old dispensation, and with these accessions quite a Jewish community was formed in Lancaster County. It was not long before a house of prayer was built by them; . . . it was the first synagogue in the American desert. It was built on the old Indian trail leading from the Conestoga to the Swatara. The place where this synagogue stood—the first in Pennsylvania—is still pointed out by old residents. It was a rude log-house, locally known as the Schul." The site of the Schul is now occupied by a modern house. An ancient log-house is still pointed out as having formerly been the home of the hazan or reader of what Mr. Sachse refers to as "at one time the most distinctive and populous congregation of the ancient faith in the colonies."

To continue quoting from Mr. Sachse's interesting work, pp. 117-8 :

"The claim that this Jewish congregation was recruited by proselytes from among the early settlers is strengthened by the fact that but few Jewish names—such as Isaac Miranda—appear among those of the settlers in the vicinity. Nor do either the Ephrata records or those sent to Holland by Boehm make reference to any number of Jews in the vicinity. The same is true of the Lutheran and Reformed reports; they all, however, make reference to the fact that Judaizing influences were rampant among the early settlers. (Vide Muhlenberg, *Hallische Nachrichten*.)"

"Then, again, a majority of names, whose owners are known to have been members of the congregation and rest upon the hill, were originally of the Jewish faith."

Traces of the above-mentioned Jewish customs are still found among the families of old settlers in Berks, Lebanon and Lancaster counties.¹

The old Jewish cemetery, established about 1732, near Schaefferstown, now in Heidelberg Township, Lebanon county but originally in Lancaster county, is now almost if not completely obliterated.²

The substantial stone wall which surrounded this cemetery, a plot about 60 by 30 feet in size, was, according to Charles M. Zerbe, Esq., of Schaefferstown, still standing as late as 1863.

However, the evidence of the existence of a synagogue at Schaefferstown appears to be altogether traditional.

The Schaefferstown settlement is also referred to in Rupp's *History of Berks and Lebanon Counties*, published 1844.

¹ Sachse, p. 118.

² *Ib.*, p. 119. Vol. 25, No. 11, *Jewish Exponent*, July 2, 1897. Article by Monroe B. Hirsch.

APPENDIX I.

COPY OF DEED FOR JEWISH CEMETERY IN LANCASTER,
PENNSYLVANIA—1747.

Thomas Cookson, et ux.

to

Isaac Nunus Ricus.

This indenture made the third day of February in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and forty-seven, between Thomas Cookson, of the Borough of Lancaster, in the Province of Pennsylvania, Esq., and Margaret, his wife, of the one part, and Isaac Nunus Ricus, of the same place, merchant, of the other part, Witnesseth, that the said Thomas Cookson and Margaret, his wife, for the consideration of the sum of six pounds, current money of the Province aforesaid, to them in hand, paid by the said Isaac Nunus Ricus and Joseph Simons, at and before the ensembling and delivery hereof, the said Thomas Cookson and Margaret, his wife, do hereby acknowledge themselves to be therewith well content, fully satisfied and paid, and thereof, and every part thereof, do exonerate, release and discharge the said Isaac Nunus Ricus and Joseph Simons, have granted, bargained and sold, aliened, released and confirmed and by these presents do for themselves and their heirs fully, freely and absolutely grant, bargain and sell, alien, release and confirm unto the said Isaac Nunus Ricus and Joseph Simons and to their heirs and assigns forever, all that certain piece or parcel of ground situated in the Township of Lancaster, in the said County, bounded as follows, viz: Beginning at a corner post in a lane Between Michael Meyer's and Mr. James Hamilton's land and extending thence by the said James Hamilton's land North forty-six degrees; West ten perches, thence North forty-four degrees; east by other lands of the said Thomas Cookson eight perches, thence forty-six degrees, East ten perches, thence South forty-four degrees; West by

the lane eight perches to the place of beginning, containing half an acre, together with all and singular the preme thereto belong or in any wise appertaining and the estate, right, title, interest, property, claim and demand whatsoever as well in law as equity of them, the said Thomas Cookson and Margaret, his wife, of, in and to the said half acre of land and Premes thereto belonging and the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders of the said half acre of land which half acre of land is part of a lot or piece of ground which was granted to the said Thomas Cookson by James Hamilton, Esq., by indenture bearing date the twentieth day of July, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and forty-three; to have and to hold the said piece of ground above described with the appurtenances unto the said Isaac Nunus Ricus and Joseph Simons, their heirs and assigns, for ever In Trust for the Society of Jews settled in and about Lancaster, to have and use the same as a burying ground. And the said Margaret, his wife, doth covenant, promise, and grant to and with the said Isaac Nunus Ricus and Joseph Simons, their heirs and assigns, that he, the said Thomas Cookson, and his heirs, and all and every other person and persons, and his and their heirs and thing having or claiming on the premises above mentioned, by, from or under him shall, and will, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, upon the reasonable request, and at the proper cost and charges of the said Isaac Nunus Ricus and Joseph Simons, their heirs or assigns, make, do, and execute, or cause, procure to be made, done, and executed all and every such further and other lawfull and reasonable act and acts, thing and things, device and devices, conveyances and assurances in the law whatsoever for the further, better and more perfect granting, conveying and assuring the said premises with the appurtenances unto the said Isaac Nunus Ricus and Joseph Simons, their heirs and assigns, for the use aforesaid, as by the said Isaac Nunus Ricus and Joseph Simons, their heirs or assigns, or their, or either of their

counsel, learned in the law, shall be reasonably devised, or advised and required. In Witness whereof the parties to these presents have hereunto interchangeably set their hands and seals the day and year above written.

Sealed and Delivered in THO. COOKSON. [Seal.]

Presence of Us. MARGARET COOKSON. [Seal.]

DAVID HOUL—CONRAD WEISER.

Memorandum, That on the day of July, A. D. 1747, before me, the subscriber, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the county of Lancaster, came Thomas Cookson and Margaret, his wife, the grantors within named, and acknowledged the due execution of the within deed. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal the day and year above said.

Recorded this day of June 1747. Recorder.

The above instrument was recorded in the Recorder's Office of Lancaster County in Record Book B., p. 441, etc., June 29, 1747.

APPENDIX II.

Lancaster County, ss. I DO hereby certify, that Joshua Isaacs late an Inhabitant of the Island of Granada hath voluntarily taken and subscribed the Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity, as directed by an Act of General Affembly, passed the Thirteenth Day of June 1777, and a further Supplement to the same, passed the fifth Day of December 1778. WITNESS my Hand and Seal, this Twentieth Day of February Anno Domini 1781.

(L. S.)

PAUL ZANTZINGER.

Copied December 19, 1900, from original in the possession of Gustavus Isaacs, Esq., of New York, the grandson of said Joshua Isaacs.

JEWES AND THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT. II.

BY MAX J. KOHLER, A. M., LL.B., *New York.*

In a previous paper on this subject which appeared in No. 5 of the *Publications*, the present writer gathered some material that may prove of use to the historian of the future who may deal with this interesting theme. The incidents then presented were not exhaustive nor complete, and the purpose of the present paper is to slightly supplement the former one, in the hope that others may be induced to set forth further incidents bearing upon this subject that have come under their notice. It is but proper to state again, at the outset, that the subject matter of the valiant work, done by Jews in common with their non-Jewish brethren after the Civil War began, has been so thoroughly treated by our fellow-member, Hon. Simon Wolf, that no attempt will be made here to deal with any incidents that occurred after the war broke out.

In the former paper reference was made to the fact that Jewish settlers, in America and elsewhere, commonly kept slaves where such was the custom among the people in whose midst they dwelt. How largely that was true of America is clearly shown by a little book on Jamaica, entitled *The Jamaica Almanack for the Year 1826*, in which the residents of Jamaica outside of Kingston are enumerated. We find that it was not any more uncommon for the many Jewish residents there listed, to be enumerated as possessors of a number of slaves, than was the case with non-Jews.

But even at this time the slavery era was rapidly coming to a close in all the British colonial possessions, including Jamaica. The British Parliament, after many years of

anti-slavery agitation, transformed the status of all slaves in English possessions into an apprenticeship for a limited term of years, which would have expired in 1840, but two years previous to that date, the Jamaica Colonial Assembly, recognizing that on account of this Parliamentary interference, the institution was doomed, passed a law by which this apprenticeship would terminate in Jamaica on August 1, 1838. We learn from a Jamaica correspondent's letter to the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, published in 1838 (vol. II, p. 443) that a Jewish resident of Jamaica was the first one on the island to liberate his slaves, for he celebrated Queen Victoria's Coronation Day, on June 28, 1838, by assembling his slaves, and forthwith giving them their freedom. Even though we may not be disposed to concede this claim to priority, advanced in favor of this Jewish resident, Mr. Daniel Hart of Bowden, the incident is not undeserving of attention. That it attracted considerable notice in Jamaica at the time, is apparent from the long account of it which the *Allgemeine Zeitung* reprinted from the *Jamaica Despatch and Kingston Chronicle* of July 6, 1838, in which special stress was placed upon Mr. Hart's Jewish faith. Possibly the incident has more significance for us to-day because of Mr. Hart's thoughtful and humane method of solving the problem as to the best disposition to make of the emancipated slave, than on account of his anticipation of the law by but a little over a month and his offer to pay the ex-slaves for their labor, from this earlier day, in accordance with the scale of wages to be promulgated. Thus, we note that Mr. Hart expressly made provision at his own expense for the housing and maintenance for the future of the blind, sick or infirm among his former slaves. Moreover, he directed the discontinuance of the terms of inferiority which had been part of the hateful former system, such as driver of slaves, etc. He pointedly called the attention of his ex-slaves to all the bearings and scope of their emancipation, and advised them to turn for guidance and advice to their Christian pas-

tor, Rev. James Atkins, and reminded them that their emancipation throughout the islands must be regarded as the work of God, and not of men. Still more suggestive are his directions and advice to them as to the education of their children; he recommended that they should send their children to school at least three days per week, and announced that if they wished to have their children perform light labor upon the property during the other three days, he would be willing to give them suitable compensation for their labor. Rev. Mr. Atkins, in remarks which he made on the same occasion, commented on the fact that the initiative in this matter was taken by one of the Jewish faith, a suggestive contrast to the circumstance that certain Christian churches on the island contented themselves with constant boasts about their philanthropy. It should also be remembered that Sir Moses Montefiore rendered valiant services in the cause of emancipation in British dominions and that his name figured prominently, both as a liberal donor and an active co-worker, on anti-slavery society lists.

Closely in line with this, is the emancipation of the slaves effected by the French Assembly of 1848, in France's colonial possessions. Here we once more encounter in an unanticipated connection, the heroic figure of that great Jewish champion of the 19th century, Isaac Adolphe Cremieux. As a member of the Provisional Government of France of 1848, occupying the position of Minister of Justice, he addressed a committee of West India delegates in that year, who came to thank the French Government for this act of emancipation. Cremieux, on behalf of the Cabinet, addressed them in French, saying in the course of his speech:

"I am happy to hail you in the name of the Provisional Government of the Republic, every part of which has entertained the great thought of emancipating such of your fellow countrymen as still remain in slavery—SLAVERY, SLAVERY in the midst of liberty. Why, this is the most odious, the most afflicting inconsistency! Distinctions

between men! This is a violation of the law of both God and Man. We have only proclaimed the principles which dwell in the heart of all mankind. Yes, the national convention, that grand, that immortal assembly, had restored you all to freedom, but the error of a great man again placed you under the yoke which you had believed was broken forever. You shall again become free. There shall no longer be a slave on the soil of liberty. In our Colonies as well as in Continental France, every man who inhabits that land shall be free. . . . And when slavery shall have disappeared, our descendants will exclaim with pride: 'It was to the Revolution of 1848 that the final abolition of slavery was due.'"¹

In my previous paper, I referred to Cremieux's eloquent address before the General Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840, held at London, which directed its efforts particularly at emancipation in America. His remarks were so forcible, and present such an interesting outline of the relations of Judaism to emancipation, that it will not be out of place to append his address to this paper. Strangely enough, Cremieux's anti-slavery labors have escaped the attention of his Jewish biographers, although he himself so strongly emphasized the connection between Jewish emancipation and the emancipation of the negro slave. (See Appendix.)

Coming next to the United States, we may with propriety observe that the antagonism or aloofness on the part of many American Jews to or from anti-slavery agitation was due to love for the Union, and fear of its disruption, to which the Abolitionist propaganda at one time threatened to lead, rather than to any sympathy for slavery. Such, for instance, was the principal motive of a long article on the "American Jews and Slavery," written by Dr. S. Waterman for the *Asmoncan* and reprinted in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* in 1851, (Vol. 15, p. 311), although the writer

¹ My thanks are due to Mr. Leon Hühner for this reference to Cremieux.

did not fail to enlarge also upon the alleged divine recognition of slavery in Holy Writ, along the lines subsequently pursued by Rev. Dr. Raphall in utterances heretofore considered. It is interesting to observe that a more humane as well as more scientific exposition of the relations of Judaism to slavery was published by Dr. M. Mielziner, in German, before the Civil War. The scholarly paper, from his pen on this subject printed in the *American Jews' Annual* for 1886, had been published in Copenhagen and Leipzig as early as 1859. In 1861, it was translated and published in two installments in the *American Theological Review*, (vol. III, pp. 232, 423), the editors of the *Review* stating that "for our knowledge of it we are indebted to Francis Lieber, LL.D., who speaks of it as 'a work of startling merit, of candor and of simplicity.'"

In my earlier paper, I had occasion to refer to the eminent services of Dr. David Einhorn and of Michael Heilprin in refuting Dr. Raphall's contention by historical, theological and scientific arguments in Jewish as well as in non-sectarian newspapers. Recently, a further incident as to Michael Heilprin's personal activity in combating the pro-slavery arguments on the political platform in the ante-bellum period, has been ably set forth in an excellent biographical sketch of Michael Heilprin, written by Julius Stern, of Philadelphia, from which the following paragraph is taken:

"Towards the end of the fifties when public opinion was crystallizing on the impending war issue, Philadelphia was the scene of a conflict whose bitterness can better be imagined than described. Party feeling had reached the boiling point when one evening Carpenter's Hall was appropriated for the use of the Anti-Slavery Democrats. The speaker on this occasion, all enthusiastic, was convincing his auditors of the justice of their cause when he was suddenly interrupted by the hoots and jeers of a crowd of hoodlums representing the 'Copperheads,' who entirely unobserved had entered the

meeting. Quick as a flash, in this moment of uproar, an unknown man rose from one of the front rows in the audience. Every eye was upon him. In breathless excitement he mounted his chair, and in the most vigorous German, reinforced by a remarkable eloquence, delivered such a bitter tirade against the methods of the opposition as to make him at once the object of the mob's resentment. He was immediately surrounded, severely assaulted, and was about to be rushed bodily out of the hall, when Dr. Edward Morwitz organized his friends upon the platform, made one grand united effort at rescue, and succeeded in tearing him away from the clutches of the angry mob. That man, that hero in the conflict for truth and justice, was Michael Heilprin."¹

It is not strange that a peace-loving scholar, who felt so strongly on this subject, should have hurried to the intellectual and scientific defense of Judaism soon after, against the charge of sanctioning and ordaining slavery.

We may include among anti-slavery champions, also a distinguished Jewish son of the South, who in later years became one of the leaders of the bar of the Pacific Coast, and for a number of years occupied a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court, of California: Solomon Heydenfelt. As far back as 1849, while residing in Alabama, Mr. Heydenfelt published "A Communication on the subject of slave immigration addressed to the Hon. Reuben Chapman, Governor of Alabama," in which he proposed an amendment to the State Constitution to prohibit the further immigration of slaves into the State of Alabama. Whether his views on this subject had any influence upon his leaving Alabama is not clear, but it is certain that he migrated to California about a year after his pamphlet was published. Here he

¹ "The Julius Stern" prize essay in the Y. M. H. A., competition published in the *Jewish Exponent*, October 27, 1899, Mr. Stern advises me that he carefully investigated this incident, and that it is based upon statements made to him by Mr. Louis E. Levy and Mr. David Sulzberger, of Philadelphia, and Dr. Julius Goldman, of New York.

soon became the Democratic nominee for the United States Senate, and was nearly elected, the Legislature being compelled to adjourn after 142 futile ballots. At the next session a compromise candidate was chosen. In 1851, he was elected a Judge of the State Supreme Court; he resigned this position to enter upon the practice of law in 1857. It is interesting to observe his strength of convictions and purpose, as indicated by his refusal to take the "iron-clad" oath of loyalty prescribed for lawyers by the State Legislature in 1862. This debarred him from practising before the state courts, and compelled him to give up most important cases, including one in which he refunded, in consequence, a retainer of \$25,000. The act prescribing this oath was probably one of the kind subsequently declared to be unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. It is to be hoped that Judge Heydenfelt's career will in the near future receive adequate attention from the student of American Jewish History.¹

Among the American Jewish ministers whose sympathies and whose private aid and support as well as vote were with the anti-slavery movement from a comparatively early date, was Rev. Samuel M. Isaacs. He was well acquainted with prominent anti-slavery men such as Prof. C. E. Stowe, the husband of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Rev. Dr. Tyng, of New York and others, frequently expressed his sympathy with the efforts to emancipate the slaves, and voted for the anti-slavery candidate, in 1856. He did not preach anti-slavery sermons, yielding to the outcry against "politics in the pulpit," but was recognized as a warm advocate of liberty, and wrote unreservedly in favor of the Union and the Lincoln policy at the beginning of the Civil War, a time when there was considerable public indecision. At the

¹ *Am. Hist. Ass. Report for 1897*, p. 978. See also for biographical sketches of Heydenfelt, *Bench and Bar of California*, by Oscar T. Shuck, I, 79-85; *Pacific Jewish Annual*, No. 3, for 5657, pp. 62-5, (accompanied by portrait.)

public exercises held in New York City, in Union Square in memory of President Lincoln in 1865, he was selected as one of the two ministers to participate in the religious exercises. We quote the following passage from an obituary notice of Rev. S. M. Isaacs, which appeared in the *Reformer and Jewish Times*, of May 24, 1878 :

“During the war, Mr. Isaacs came out boldly in the *Messenger* (his paper), as a champion of the North, and bitterly denounced the institution of slavery. This action lost him nearly all his Southern subscribers, but he continued his attacks nevertheless, saying in one of his editorials, with characteristic plainness of speech : ‘We want subscribers, for without them we cannot publish a paper, and Judaism needs an organ ; but we want much more truth and loyalty, and for them we are ready, if we must, to sacrifice all other considerations.’ ”

In July, 1862, Rev. Dr. B. Felsenthal contributed an impassioned article to the monthly *Sinai* (a reprint from the *Illinois Staatszeitung* of June 6) in which he showed that the sympathy of Jews with the cause of slavery was by no means as general as was supposed. Moreover, he makes mention of the active anti-slavery workers in the border states : Bernays of St. Louis, editor of the *Western Advertiser*, M. Friedl and Isidore Bush of the same place, and Louis N. Dembitz of Louisville, a delegate to the Chicago Convention that nominated Lincoln.

As mentioned in my previous article on this subject (*Publications*, No. 5, p. 153) former Judge Abram J. Dittenhoefer was one of the early anti-slavery workers. Before he reached his majority he was a frequent speaker at anti-slavery meetings during the Fremont campaign. A potent influence in inducing him to play this active part was the speech of Senator Wade in the United States Senate, in March 1858, in which, in reply to a speech of Judah P. Benjamin, he denounced the Jews for their pro-slavery views. (*Con-*

gressional Globe, 1st session, 35th Cong., p. 1115.) In 1864 Mr. Dittenhoefer was one of the Republican Presidential Electors from New York.

It is to be hoped that the anti-slavery efforts of many of the other Jews, resident in this country prior to the war, will find their way into print in accessible channels.

APPENDIX.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION (1840).

M. Cremieux then addressed the Convention in French, which Dr. Bowring thus translated :

“I cannot express to you, gentlemen, the emotions which I feel at this moment, the most overpowering feelings penetrate my heart, and entirely overcome me. First, I feel the most profound admiration for those English customs and manners which have given to the spirit of association such irresistible power of proclaiming its objects nobly, and in the face of the world—objects the most liberal and most worthy of the enlightened age that has approved and adopted them, a spirit of association, which our laws, I am sorry to say, prohibit, to the sorrow and despair of all those generous men, who in France called loudly for the abolition of such restrictive enactments. I feel almost overpowered by the thought that an Israelite should appear in this assembly, where he has been received with so much favor, to demand with enthusiasm equal to yours, the abolition of slavery. All liberties are united, and all persecutions are associated. Persecute, and you will make slaves; proclaim the equality of all, and you will create citizens. It is thus that your O’Connell, (whom we should envy to England, if the glory of England at this moment was not amalgamated with that of France in this great work) in demanding complete equality for Ireland, proclaimed at the same time the principles of

humanity and justice, and has rendered for the future all persecution impossible against men who conquered equality for themselves.

* * * * * * *

“ I feel great pleasure in joining this Convention, because I am a descendant of those Hebrews who were first to proclaim the abolition of slavery ; and I this day only repeat what the Jews have always admitted in principle. Indeed, it is not without interest that I now recall to your recollection, that it was the sect of the Essenes which first declared slavery to be a crime, and that it was, to use the expression of Josephus, a perpetual cause of perturbation for the State. In this assembly this must entitle them to the highest glory ; and I may add, that Jesus Christ himself, considered as a great legislator and moralist, has derived the principles of Christian charity from the mild and pure rules of the sect of the Essenes. And yet, these very Jews, who proclaimed the abolition of slavery, who have conferred on Christianity one of the most worthy titles to glory ; these very Jews have themselves, in more recent times, been held as slaves even in Christian countries. What emotions must I not experience, in coming here to join my voice to those which are raised to demand the abolition of slavery ! And permit me, without digressing from the subject of my discourse, to add, that the Jews were the first to abolish human sacrifices, and to turn away with horror from the shedding human blood in their religious ceremonies ; and yet, at this moment in the East, in those very countries in which their religion—the basis of every other—was first proclaimed, a horrible calumny, resuscitated from the barbarian ages of the West, accuses them of shedding Christian blood as a matter of religious duty, to moisten the unleavened bread of the Passover. It is true—and I take the earliest opportunity of acknowledging it—that in this country, civilized England, the nation, the press, the government, have shown themselves indignant at this base calumny ; and I perceive, from the approbation

which you now manifest, that you repudiate it with the contempt it deserves. Yes, persecution engenders slavery. Yes, all persecutions are akin to one another, and this was well understood by that venerable Bishop Gregoire, who, while he raised his voice in favor of the emancipation of the blacks, at the same time demanded the emancipation of the Jews. Well, in this assembly of Christians, here is a Jew who demands for the blacks the complete abolition of slavery. His enthusiasm is equal to yours; and his words have been listened to by you with the truest sympathy. Besides, is there a cause more worthy of public favor? When God created the first man and woman, after he had laid the foundation of a future society, in these words ‘Increase and multiply,’ he said to man,—displaying the whole of nature before him—‘This is thy patrimony, this is thy kingdom; earth and all its animals are submitted to thy power.’ But where do we find that the Creator has said, ‘upon this earth which I deliver over to thee, two races of men shall exist at the same time, the one, absolute and master, because he has a white skin; the other, a slave and obedient, because he has a black one. Two classes of the same creature shall be spread over the earth; the one, shall be called the class of the oppressors; the other the class of the oppressed. All shall possess the same life, and the same breath of life shall animate your bodies; but among you, the one class shall cast the other’s fetters, and shall sell their brethren in the public markets as brute beasts?’ The slavery of man by man is a perpetual crime against humanity. Cast far from you those absurd accusations which would degrade one part of creation. Persecutors are ever fertile in arguments to give a color to their oppression. The blacks, say they, are of a degraded nature, their degenerate race can never be raised to an equality with us, they cannot understand liberty, a maxim as false as it is immoral. It is slavery which degrades human nature, because liberty is its law, its patrimony. Instead of keeping the blacks in a state of degradation, open

for them the career which Providence has given to all men ; raise them to an equality with yourselves, and they well know how to preserve their level. Slavery occasions vice—it is not vice that is the cause of slavery. Would you wish an historical example in proof of this ? Look at the country of the arts, of civilization, of letters. Look at Greece. Oh, how noble, how grand was she in her sacred times of liberty ! What has she become in a state of servitude ? Say, can you recognize in the Greek slave the descendant of Leonidas or Pericles ? Abolish slavery, proclaim equality, it is a noble and glorious mission. This glory, this mission, henceforth, belongs to the alliance of two great nations, who, long divided by war, are now united in the cause of the civilization of the world. With what *éclat* will the words of England and of France be received by the nations of the world ! How sublimely have they been already re-echoed from that very continent of America where so many private interests oppose the emancipation of the blacks ; and whereso many generous hearts attend only to the sacred interests of humanity ! See with what transport their representatives unite themselves in this Hall, to their brethren of England and France. Yes, we shall attain this glorious object by our holy alliance. I say not this from vanity, but from a just and honorable and proud confidence. It is an incontrovertible truth. To the united will of France and England proclaiming the equality of mankind, who could now resist ? To the united will of France and England proclaiming the abolition of human slavery, what power could oppose an obstacle ? Here I pause. I will not trespass further on the attention you have so kindly accorded to me, and I shall ever consider as the happiest day of my existence, that in which I have been permitted to give utterance to my sentiments in such an assembly as the present. I shall dwell with delight on the recollection ; from this moment my life will acquire in my own eyes more consistency and more real importance than it has ever hereunto possessed.”

ISAAC LEVY'S CLAIM TO PROPERTY IN GEORGIA.¹

BY HERBERT FRIEDENWALD, PH. D., *Philadelphia.*

Jews in America during the colonial time were not often in position to have claims against government of sufficient importance to warrant taking appeals to the King in Council. The case of Rabba Couty² and that of the subject of this sketch are the only ones that have come under the writer's notice. Isaac Levy, however, adopted an irregular course, appealing first to the King, and being directed back to the colonial courts. He knew that redress would in the first instance be denied him in Georgia, because one of the principals involved was no less a person than the Governor himself. Consequently he thought to obtain justice by having recourse to an unusual method, but one which might none the less result in drawing such attention to his case as would, he hoped, result in favorable action being taken. If only for the reason that he was the principal in an appeal to the King, Isaac Levy is deserving of more than a passing notice. According to his own statement, he was born in New York city early in the 18th century. Following the occupation of merchant and trader, he remained there until 1752, when he went to London. He was naturalized under the general Act of 1740, on November 18, of that year. He was closely associated in business with David Franks, and in London counted among his

¹ This account is based on material among the manuscripts of the Library of Congress, and copies of the journals and papers of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations in the Public Record Office, London.

² See *Publication*, No. 5, pp. 52 ff.

intimates the latter's brother, Moses. In London he continued his mercantile career and in one of his memorials, dated 1767, states that during the fifteen years he has been a resident of London "as a merchant of reputation" he has "paid great sums of money to the revenue as duties on merchandize and has otherwise been a useful member of the community." Apparently he prospered until 1754. In October of that year, in London, he was brought into contact with one Thomas Bosomworth, (sometimes referred to as the Reverend Thomas), and with Mary, his wife. Bosomworth had been an Indian agent in South Carolina and Georgia for some years before that date, and profiting by his opportunities had married Cousaponakusa, "the rightful and Natural Princess of the Upper and Lower Creek Nations." Presumably, the difficulty found in the pronunciation of her name led him to change it to the more prosaic Mary, and henceforth Cousaponakusa appears as Mary.

By formal treaty in 1747, confirmed by the whole nation of Creeks in 1750, the islands of Osaba, Sapola and St. Katharine's on the coast of Georgia—and now known to fame as the Sea Islands, where a particularly fine grade of cotton is raised—were conveyed to Bosomworth and his wife.

In London in October, 1754, for certain considerations among them an advance of £300, plus £200 to be paid out of the first returns from the development of the property, Bosomworth conveyed to Isaac Levy a half interest in the three islands above named.

As soon thereafter as the latter could depart, he set sail for America in order to develop his new property. But he found some difficulty in accomplishing this, owing to the interference with his plans by the outbreak of the war with France in 1756. At the end of that and beginning of the following year, we may note in passing, that he is to be found in Philadelphia, and communicates with Bosomworth through the medium of Mr. Minis, of Savannah.

Bosomworth, grown restive and impecunious, and seeing

an opportunity to take advantage of Levy in his absence, at the end of 1758, offered to sell to the crown, Osaba and Sapola Islands in consideration of being paid £3000, and having the other island, St. Katharine's, confirmed to him. At the same time he prayed to be indemnified against any claim Levy might make.

The indemnification Governor Ellis refused to consider. But after some further negotiations in July, 1759, an agreement was entered into, whereby Bosomworth was to be granted the island of St. Katharine's and some other property near Savannah, in perpetuity, in consideration for his ceding the other two islands to Governor Ellis, for the crown, and receiving therefore £2100, if they brought that much at auction. They were accordingly advertised in the *South Carolina Gazette*, (No. 1302) to be sold at Savannah, on December 4, 1759.

From the perusal of this advertisement, Levy, then in Philadelphia, received his first intimation of the proposed disposition of his property. He immediately, on September 13, 1759, inserted an advertisement in the papers warning intending purchasers of his claim to a half share in the property, and that he would immediately petition the King for redress. Levy's notice to the governor resulted in postponing the sale for a time. But it finally took place early the next year, and in April, 1760, the island of St. Katharine's and £2050 (the amount realized by the sale of the other two islands) were made over to Bosomworth, in return for which he conveyed the other two islands to Governor Ellis for the crown. Levy immediately took the steps he had threatened. At the end of the year, 1759, he presented his first memorial to the King, setting forth his grievances as stated above and praying for relief. In January, 1760, this was considered by the Privy Council, and the case was before them a number of times during this, and the beginning of the following year. In the meantime, Levy gave his agents in Georgia directions to institute proceedings against

the persons in possession of the islands. But because of the high official involved, could obtain no lawyer to take up his case and enter suit for him.

Returning to England, in 1762, he employed the best counsel obtainable, and one opinion favorable to his claims, dated 1762, was rendered by no less a person than Joseph Galloway, at that time agent in London for the Colony of Pennsylvania. Between that time and 1764 he presented several additional petitions. The replies he received, were to the effect that inasmuch as this was a question of property and not of "prudential and political considerations," the matter, despite the hardship occasioned him, could not be considered by the Council in the first instance, but that the case must first be tried in Georgia, from whose courts an appeal might lie to the King in Council. He now tried again to obtain redress in Georgia, but again failing, he resorted to petition once more. In August, 1767, he prays that either his share of the islands be returned to him or he be granted an equivalent in the West Indies or a coal mine in Cape Breton. In February, 1768, the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations returned to the Council the same reply as had been previously made, yet they added: "As it does appear to us that a valuable consideration was actually given by the said Levy to these people, so far, it must be acknowledged, that the petitioner's is a Case of Hardship, and for this reason, should he be inclined totally, to relinquish his Pretensions, it will then be . . . to determine . . . to take such part of his Petition into Consideration, wherein he prays for some Mark of His Majesty's Bounty;" and though they thought this could not be granted in the way Levy proposed, "yet," they added, "upon some less exceptional proposal, your Lordships may probably think fit to recommend him to the Royal Favour, in Consideration of his Losses, though not by way of Compensation for his Rights."

Catching at this straw Levy, now in desperation, makes

an additional plea for the coal mine of Cape Breton. He proceeds to answer any objections that may be made to this grant on the ground, that if coal is produced at a moderate price in America it will enable America to rival England in the manufacture of iron, by showing that the Act of Parliament of 1750 prohibits the further creation of slitting mills, and that moreover the price of labor in America is so high as to render any extensive production and competition with England impossible. He adds, "that opening the Coal mine at Cape Breton will tend to the advantage of Great Britain, because it will enable many ships that sail from England to America w^{ch} now proceed in ballast (especially to South Carolina, Virginia and Maryland) to load coal and thereby making a tolerable freight which now they cannot do because coals are not valuable except in small quantities (in Capital towns) to blacksmiths, and in the interior towns charcoal is substituted in the place thereof. Your memorialist apprehends that as soon as the Americans find the advantage of burning coal they will certainly prefer it to wood in most places because it will be less expensive, and has many other advantages which is only wanting to give it the preference. . . .

"Your Memorialist begs leave to y^r Lordship that coal from Cape Briton cannot be carried to any part of America and there sold (a place or two excepted) for a less price than coal can be carried from England, because no advantage of freight could be made or had but ships must go in ballast—whereas many ships from England can load coal in prosecuting their voyage to America without going much out of the way and at little expense on that account." If this is granted him on lease for thirty years he offers to pay for the first ten years, 1 shilling for every chaldron of coal "dug for sale" and for the next twenty years, 1 shilling 6 pence, or if it is granted to him outright, 2 shillings and 6 pence for every chaldron. As we read between the lines we can discover that Levy's insight into the future uses of coal in America was far in advance of his time. But this petition

also proved of no avail, for I have not been able to find that it ever received consideration even, by the Commissioners of Trade. Levy was now forced to give up the fight and the last we hear of him is that he was in Philadelphia in December, 1768, and in Boston in October of the following year.

By a strange coincidence, Jews are soon again concerned in the history of the island of St. Katharine's. In October, 1765, Bosomworth sold it to Button Gwinnett. On March 16, 1770, Gwinnett, owing Mordecai and Levi Sheftall one thousand pounds, five hundred of which were due in March, 1772, conveyed to them St. Katharine's as security for the payment of the above amounts.¹

¹ See MS. in New York Public Library, Em. 4111.

THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST RUSSIAN-AMERICAN JEWISH CONGREGATION.

THE BETH HAMEDROSH HAGODOL.

By J. D. EISENSTEIN, *New York City.*

History is indeed stranger than fiction, yet stranger is the history of the Jews, and that of the Russian-American Jews the strangest. The Russian persecution, in 1881-82, marking a new epoch in their history, was a potent factor in largely increasing their immigration, which began with the second half of the last century. Neither the dreamer nor the prophet, however, could reasonably imagine or predict their remarkable growth and development in that short period—from the sparse few of their humble congregation to the present mighty army of numerous synagogues, *shules* and *hebras* with the fervor of religious activity.

I speak of the Russian-American colony of New York, embracing the southeast side, bounded by the East River, Catharine Street, the Bowery and Houston Street. The colony—a mammoth wheel with its numerous spokes of congested streets—has for its hub Rutgers Square, now Seward Park, where East Broadway and Canal Street meet; where the Educational Alliance, Schiff's fountain and the playground for the amusement and health exercise of the rising generation are situated. Several *Yiddish* dailies are published in this vicinity, claiming a combined circulation of 100,000. Upwards of 20,000 Russian Jews massed together on the occasion of the last presidential election to read the bulletins displayed in *Yiddish* on a screen in their own Newspaper Row. Among the pictures shown was that of Dr. Herzl, with the suggestive inscription הנה נבחר

בירושלים "next year in Jerusalem!" The lowest estimate credits this locality with 300,000 Russian Jews, and nearly 300 congregations including *Minyanim*, making it probably unique in the world. And yet it is but fifty years since, in that whole neighborhood, not a single congregation of Russian Jews could be found, the requisite number of ten not being present to form even a *Minyan*. In fact, their first colony was established on the west side of the Bowery; East Broadway being then the Fifth Avenue of the present time, the exclusive place of residence of the aristocracy of Gotham.

The first Russian-American congregation was founded June 4, 1852, by the following members: Benjamin Lichtenstein, Judah Middleman, Abraham Benjamin (of Hamburg), Abraham Joseph Ash, Israel Cohen, Abba Baum, David Lasky, Leib Cohen, Baruch Solomon Rothschild, Joshua Rothstein, Eliah Greenstein, Feibel Philips (the scribe), Abraham Reiner, Tobias Schwartz, Abraham Levy (of Ratzk), Nyman Harris, Leibel Ratzker, Samuel Hillel Isaacs, Jerahemiel Chuck (of Berlin), Isidor Raphall, Wolf Cohen and Jacob Levy. The first twelve were the organizers and the rest joined later. Several non-Russian Jews who were dissatisfied with the reform movement of their congregations joined the orthodox Russian congregation. Of these members only Abba Baum and Samuel H. Isaacs survive (1900).

Their first place of worship (1852) was in the garret of No. 83 Bayard Street, paying eight dollars rent a month. Their first officers were: *Parnas* (president), B. Lichtenstein; Secretary, I. Cohen; Rabbi, A. J. Ash; Reader, S. H. Isaacs. All services were given gratis, and it was a special privilege to allow one to officiate in the capacity of cantor. To the lot of the Reader fell the function of blowing the *Shofar* on New Year's Day. The question of procuring a suitable *Shofar*, however, was not easily solved; for while a thousand *Shofars* may now without difficulty

be obtained in season in New York, the only *Shofar* they could secure, the first year, had a hole in it which changed the note of a *tekiah* into a *teruah*.

The congregation soon increased in members which necessitated their removal, after the holidays (November), 1852, to larger quarters at Elm Street, corner of Canal Street, on the first floor, which was rented for twenty-five dollars per month. There was a carpenter-shop on the floor above, which apparently did not disturb the worshippers.

On May 2, 1853, by reason of a further increase of membership, the congregation moved to Pearl Street, corner of Centre Street (formerly a court-house), on the top floor, paying a monthly rental of twenty-five dollars, till May 1, 1856. There was a German congregation, "Beth Abraham," on the first floor, which afterwards moved out, owing possibly to the religious competition of the Russian congregation, which then took its place on the ground floor. The former congregation changed its name to "Shaare Zedek" and located in Henry Street, from which place, this year (1900), it moved up town (118th Street near St. Nicholas Avenue).

During their stay in Pearl Street, Mr. Raphall was *Parnas* the first year, Mr. Rothstein held the same office for the last two years, and Mr. Ash became the Rabbi at a salary of two dollars a week. Joseph Oppenheim was engaged as Beadle at a nominal salary, and the well-known author and *Maggid*, Joshua Falk,¹ delivered occasional sermons without compensation.

The first division in the congregation occurred (1865) when Rabbi Ash opposed the appointment of Aaron Friedman as *Sho'het* for the congregation, in order to sustain the decision handed down by the Rabbis of his native country regarding his capacity for the office, while Mr. Middleman, a Talmudic jurist, endeavored and ultimately succeeded

¹ Joshua Falk ben Mordecai Cohen, author of *Abne Joshua on Pirke Abot*, New York, 1860, etc. (v. Ben Jacob, p. 5. Steinschneider *Hamazkir*, N. 49.)

by correspondence with the Galician Rabbis, known as *Mephorshe ha-Yam*, in obtaining a permit for the *Shohet*. Rabbi Ash, however, refused to honor the permit. Mr. Middleman, in consequence, withdrew and formed a *Minyan* for himself and followers on Bayard Street, the subsequent outcome of which was the creation of a congregation for the "Kalwarier," now situated at No. 12 Pike Street.

About this time (1855) Rabbi Ash formed the acquaintance of John Hart, a Portuguese, who, on the anniversary of his parents' death, came down in a carriage to visit the congregation in Pearl Street to say the *Kaddish* prayer. The Rabbi also "learned" with him a chapter of the Pentateuch and a chapter of *Mishnayot*. In gratitude for his religious labor Mr. Hart influenced his rich friend, Samson Simpson, to donate 3000 dollars towards the purchase of a synagogue. Another Portuguese, Mr. Shendar, gave 500 dollars; Dr. Ashman, 200 dollars; and from members was collected 1300 dollars more, making a total of 4000 dollars, which sum they paid towards the purchase of the Welsh Chapel, No. 78 Allen Street, leaving a mortgage of 3500 dollars.

Thus, it is shown that the Portuguese-American Jews were the main support for the purchase of a place of worship for the first Russian-American congregation. It also shows the course of the Russian Jewish colony moving east of the Bowery. But whether the purchase of the Allen Street Church was the cause of the members following, or vice versa, is a question yet to be solved.

The dedication of the synagogue occurred on the day preceding Pentecost, June 8, 1856. Rev. Abraham Rice, of Baltimore, delivered the dedication sermon. The membership roll was then 65, presided over by Mr. Rothstein.

Disagreement between Mr. Rothstein and Rabbi Ash over trivial matters soon divided the congregation into two factions, one siding with the official authority of the *Parnas* and the other with the Rabbinic authority of Mr. Ash, and the fact that the possession of the synagogue was mainly due to

his influence. It appears that the *Parnas*' honor was on one occasion slighted, and as a rebuke, he failed to attend the regular services in the synagogue. The members, concluding that he had seceded, elected without further notice Mr. Henry Chuck as the new *Parnas*. Mr. Rothstein, however, did not relish the idea of being displaced, and reappeared in the synagogue to assume his official duties, but the opposition would not recognize him. Thus, one Saturday morning they both acted as *Parnas* at the same time, each giving orders for the calling up of members to read the same portion of the Pentateuch. Legal proceedings regarding the validity of the new election followed. The Court finally decided in favor of the former *Parnas* and annulled the new election. This caused another division in the congregation. Rabbi Ash and his followers decided to leave the congregation and form a new congregation for themselves. They agreed, on receiving 300 dollars, to renounce all claims. Notwithstanding their synagogue disturbances the members of both factions remained social friends, and what is more surprising, the warring leaders, Chuck and Rothstein, afterwards became related by intermarriage of their children, and later worked in harmony with the utmost zeal for the organization of the proposed "United Orthodox Congregations in America" in 1888.

Rabbi Ash's following consisted of 23 members, including Israel Cohen, David Lasky, Eliah Greenstein, Jerahemiel Chuck, Henry King, Mayer Salwen, and Jacob Eliezar Lewine. They named the new congregation *Beth Hamedrash Hagodol* ("The Grand") to distinguish it from the former *Beth Hamedrash*, and for 25 dollars per month rented the top floor of Forsyth Street, southwest corner of Grand Street.

The dedication of the new *shule* was on Sabbath *Nahemi*, August 13, 1859. Mr. Chuck, Sr., donated a *Sepher Torah*, many Talmudic books and contributed largely towards the purchase of a burial ground in the Union Fields Cemetery

which was augmented in 1882 by an additional plot costing \$1250. A holy alliance, or burial society, was formed as a branch of the congregation, August 15, 1859, and Pesah Rosenthal was elected first *Gabbai* (treasurer). On March 20, 1887, however, by the adoption of new by-laws by the congregation the society was amalgamated, and ceased to exist as a separate branch.

The officers of the Forsyth Street congregation, in 1859, were Henry Chuck, President; Mayer Salwen, Secretary; Israel Cohen, Reader of the Pentateuch; Nathan Meyer, Beadle and Collector, at an annual salary of 75 dollars, which was afterwards increased to 150 dollars. Mr. Meyer served in this capacity till his death, November 17, 1898, nearly thirty years. This salary was insufficient to supply his family's wants, so during the day he worked at his trade of glazier to eke out a living. Glazing, it appears, was the first occupation of the Russian Jews, who learned the trade while stopping in England on their way to America. "Glass put in" was a familiar sonorous street cry of many of the early immigrants. Another item of income was his privilege of keeping in the vestibule of the *shule* a *Schaenck*, or a buffet, for the accommodation of members on *Jahrzeit* occasions, who, in order to avoid the necessity of fasting, took advantage of a loophole in the law by pretending to give a "religious banquet" for celebrating the completion of reading a chapter of the Bible or Talmud, in which case the mourner is permitted to break his fast and participate in the rejoicing of the Torah. The "banquet" that the Beadle served usually consisted of a small glass of brandy and a piece of sponge cake for which he charged the mourner 10 cents for every member present who accepted the invitation to join the pseudo-religious "banquet." This netted the Beadle an additional 75 dollars per annum. Later, however, when the reform movement set in and decorum was introduced in the congregation the *Schaenck* was abolished, the salary of the Beadle was raised

to 250 dollars per annum to compensate for his loss of the *Jahrzeit* patronage, and the congregation, as a consequence, assumed a truly mournful appearance on the anniversary days—in sombre contrast to the previous good times on such occasions.

Rabbi Ash, about the time of the Civil War, became engaged with a partner in the manufacture of hoop skirts, then the rage of fashion, in which business he accumulated nearly ten thousand dollars. He then changed the Rabbinate for the more dignified office of *Parnas*, and instead of receiving a stipend, contributed liberally towards the expenses of the congregation. Later he lost his money and had to resume the Rabbinate. In 1876 he took up the business of importing *Kasher* wine from Los Angeles, California. Fate, however, decided against him, and in 1879, in spite of all his endeavors, he was obliged to resume his religious functions in the congregation, his salary then being 25 dollars per month, till his death, May 6, 1887.

In the third year (1861) of the Forsyth St. congregation another split was imminent between two factions of the congregation, who became more distinct and divided as each increased in numbers, namely the *Hasidim* and their opponents. As a rule the former are socially religious, they combine piety with pleasure; they call their *shule* a *stuebel* or prayer-clubroom; they desire to be on familiar terms with the Almighty and abhor decorum; they want every one present to join and chant the prayers; above all they scorn a regularly ordained cantor, whom they are not allowed and cannot follow in his “foreign” melodies. On the other hand, the reformed element wanted to introduce decorum and a musical cantor. Rabbi Ash and his ardent follower, Israel Cohen, and others belonged to the *Hasidim*. It happened that the new *Parnas*, Aaron Hershfield, with a majority of members of the reform element engaged the services of Israel Warschauer, a musical cantor, for the autumn holidays. He proved a great attraction;

the *shule* was crowded to its utmost capacity. When the air became heavy and oppressive especially on the fast-day of Atonement, the *Hasidim*, to allow ventilation, opened the windows, but the *Parnas*, fearing a possible injury to the voice of the cantor by reason of the draft, remonstrated and insisted that the windows be closed. The *Hasidim* took offence at this incident, and, having a plausible excuse, seceded after the holidays, in 1861. They organized a regular *Hasidim Stuebel*, at No. 21 Delancy St., and introduced the Sephardic ritual. Every Saturday night they joined in celebrating at the *Stuebel* the departure of Queen Sabbath, (*Melawce Malka*). This farewell banquet consisted of fish, meat and liquor contributed by individual members, accompanied by singing of hymns with all the old time hilarity and rejoicing until midnight. This, however, lasted only till the following Passover festival, when the *Stuebel* was given up and the *Hasidim* rejoined the Congregation.

On May 15, 1865, they moved from Forsyth Street, to Clinton St., S. E. corner of Grand Street, (formerly a court-house), paying 600 dollars per annum rent, which was later increased to 800 dollars, and remained until 1872. Eleazar Philips, Henry King, Aaron Hershfield, David Lasky, Israel Cohen, successively held the office of *Parnas*; Treasurer, Henry Chuck; Secretary, Isaac Gerson Rubenstein.

One of the members, Hana Hersh, a native of Hungary, of the *Hasidim* party, introduced (1870) a strictly *Kasher* system of *Matzoth* baking for the Passover festival. The rollers were of glass and all utensils of copper, especially made for that purpose. Cleanliness and rapid handling of the dough were the main features to be religiously observed. And as an extra precaution he instructed every member to personally superintend the baking of the *Matzoth* for his own family use. The expense was divided pro rata. The members also engaged an extra *Shohet*, Asher Lemil Harris, at a salary of 20 dollars per month for the slaughter of animals for their special meat market.

In 1872 the Congregation purchased the property at No. 69 Ludlow Street, on which site they built a synagogue. The total cost was 17,250 dollars on which they paid 3000 dollars down, and 6250 dollars within two years; towards these sums Henry Chuck contributed 2800 dollars, the balance of 8000 dollars remaining on mortgage. The dedication of the synagogue took place before *Rosh ha-Shana* (New Year's day) on September 27, 1872. The reformers or younger element gained the upper hand, and introduced improvements and innovations, which the conservatives gradually but reluctantly accepted. The management hitherto controlled by the elders was given into the hands of the younger members. Their first effort was directed to make the system of voting in legal form by secret balloting, instead of the open and antiquated style which influenced, hindered and corrupted the elections. The books of records and accounts also needed overhauling and correction. All these were remedied by the ensuing election of Israel Rosenthal (son of Pesah) as President (no more called *Parnas*), and Abraham Alexander, as Secretary. The former held the office for three years, and the latter for eight years. The Secretary's salary of 75 dollars per annum was then increased to 150 dollars. After Mr. Rosenthal the following were the presiding officers of the Ludlow Street Synagogue: Abraham Raphall, Henry Chuck, B. Barnet, Dramin Jones, Moses Botkowsky and Mayer Freeman. The membership roll was then about 100.

In 1874, Rabbi Ash, assisted by J. D. Eisenstein, organized a *Hebra Shas* or a society for the study of the Talmud after the evening service in the synagogue, in sets of two, each set "learning" a *masehet* (book) and consulting others, or Rabbi Ash, in solving the more difficult problems. A *Hebra Mishnayot* (Mishna) had existed since 1870, organized by Israel Cohen which studied in the synagogue after the morning prayers.

In 1885 the congregation sold the synagogue in Ludlow

Street, and purchased the Methodist church at Nos. 52-60 Norfolk street for 45,000 dollars, paying 10,000 dollars in cash, 5000 dollars within two years, and 30,000 dollars on mortgage.

Charity dispensations in the Congregation were next to the duty of prayer. It was not, however, the organized sort given by proxy, but the home kind that brings the poor in touch with the contributor. At the early stage of immigration, strangers or *Orhim* (guests) as they were called, on their arrival, were lodged and fed for a few weeks and then given a helpful start in the new world by the members of the congregation, especially if the "greenhorns" happened to meet a "landsman" or a native countryman. They were usually provided with a basket of small wares, along with the preliminary lessons of peddling. Deserving cases were also taken care of out of the daily penny collections after the week-day's service, and larger collections for more urgent needs. Some of the newcomers were invited into the houses of the more wealthy members to partake of their meals on Sabbaths and festival days. The poor of the Holy Land were also remembered every Sabbath *Shekalim* (preceding Purim) when the revenue of the *Mi-she-Berachs* after the reading of the Pentateuch, was devoted to that fund. Two of the members, Abraham Benjamin and Nyman Harris, who settled in Jerusalem to spend the remainder of their days "in the courts of the Lord's House," were especially remembered, each with 25 dollars yearly.

For the Passover relief, a system of collection and distribution was inaugurated by J. D. Eisenstein in 1888 under the management of a *Moat Hitim Committee* which is still kept up. The collections average 800 dollars a year and are expended for *Matzoth*, meals and cash distributions.

The question of employing a regular cantor at a fixed salary had never troubled the organizers of the congregation. As already remarked, it was rather a privilege to allow one to officiate, a function to which every member was

eligible, and invariably capable. The member who was commemorating the anniversary of a parent's death, was the *Baal Tephila* or the leader in prayer. A few gifted with more melodious voices were allotted the higher services. Leib Cohen, for instance, had the special privilege to conduct *Kol Nidre*, Nyman Harris *Musaph*, and Israel Cohen *Neilah*, on the day of Atonement, etc. The old ideas, however, finally gave way with the introduction of decorum by the young reformers, who also settled the question of having a cantor, in the affirmative. The first cantor, Judah Oberman, elected in 1877, received 500 dollars per annum, of which amount individual members who forced the issue to a conclusion obligated themselves to pay half. In 1880, Simhe Samuelson was chosen cantor at a salary of 700 dollars, which was increased to 1000 dollars in 1885, when the Norfolk Street Synagogue was dedicated. About that time the estimated valuation of a cantor's services began to advance at a very rapid rate. The reason may be assigned to the competition of other Russian congregations which were then building large synagogues in the same vicinity. This in a measure compelled the oldest congregation to follow suit and purchase the Methodist Church. But to meet the increasing expenses and the accruing interest on the heavy mortgage, a corresponding increase of members had to be secured, and to ensure their cooperation, the *Suwalker* congregation adopted the old advice "make sweet melody, sing many songs that thou mayest be remembered" (Isaiah xxv, 16). So they decided to import the celebrated cantor Hayyim Weinshel (a Hebrew poet and author of *Nitei Naamanim*, published in New York), who upon arrival was received with great enthusiasm. He proved a magnetic attraction for new members to his congregation. The *Kahwarier* hurriedly sent for another celebrity, cantor Kupfer, to check a threatened withdrawal of members. The Eldridge Street Congregation *Kehal Adat Yeshurun*, formerly of No. 78 Allen Street, which

separated from the original *Beth Hamedrash*, surprised all others by securing the services of cantor P. Minkowsky, with his choir, at the enormous salary of 5000 dollars per annum—the largest price ever paid by any East side congregation. This caused the Norfolk Street Congregation to bring over the well-known cantor, Israel Michaelowsky, in 1886, paying him a large salary. The strain on the resources of the congregations, however, soon brought the inevitable crisis, and this expensive luxury had to be discontinued.

It was fitting that the *Beth Hamedrash Hagodol*, the first Russian-American congregation, should lead in the movement to unite all orthodox congregations of America, and accordingly, in 1879, it issued a call for such purpose with a view to the election of a Chief Rabbi. The plan was not however consummated until 1886 and the position accepted by Rabbi Jacob Joseph, of Wilna. The congregation subscribed 500 dollars per annum towards the expense. This subject, however, requires a separate article.

In conclusion I will say that out of a total of nearly 200 members in 1888, more than half, especially the elder members, have since moved up town. The members of the congregation have now almost entirely lost the picturesque characteristics of the Russian-American pioneers.

WHENCE CAME THE FIRST JEWISH SETTLERS OF NEW YORK?

BY LEON HÜHNER, A. M., LL. B., *New York.*

It has frequently been stated that the Jews who settled at New York were the first Jewish settlers within what is now the United States.¹ For this reason the query, "Whence came these early Colonists?" must be of interest to all students of American Jewish history.

Judge Daly, in his admirable work and other writers as well, inform us that these early Jews came from Bahia, Brazil, being refugees from that country.² The reasons for this view are: First—We know that there were Jews in Brazil in considerable numbers long before 1650.³ Second—The Brazilian Jews were tolerated by the Dutch who gained the ascendancy in Brazil in the early part of the 17th century. Third—Because the Dutch power was broken in 1654 and the Portuguese reconquered the country.⁴ The Jews consequently had to leave for other parts. In the same year Jews arrived in New Netherland.⁵

All this would seem to show that the Jews who arrived at New York in 1654 on the ship *St. Catarina* might have come from Brazil. The reason assigned for their coming from Bahia is, because the earliest record, of the Jews at New York, is found in the account of the suit brought by Jacques de

¹ See Daly, *Settlement of Jews in North America*, p. 8. We know of individual Jewish settlers before this time, *e. g.* Lumbroso in Maryland and the two Jewish soldiers in New York have been mentioned in the *Publications*. To these might be added Solomon Pietersen referred to below, and in *Rec. of New Amsterdam*, I, p. 240.

² *Ib.*, p. 6.

³ *Ib.*, p. 5.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 6.

⁵ *Ib.*, also *Records of New Amsterdam*, vol. 1, p. 242, etc.

la Motthe, the captain of the vessel that brought them, in which it is stated that he demanded payment from the Jews whom he brought from Cape St. Anthony.¹ Now as there is a Cape St. Anthony, a promontory opposite Bahia harbor, it has been considered conclusive that the Brazilian Jews, who were compelled to leave on account of the Dutch capitulation and the advancing Portuguese, hurriedly gathered at Cape St. Anthony, Bahia, and there made that hard contract with the captain to take them to New Netherland.²

The only other reason for this conclusion is found in the colonial records of New Netherland, when Gov. Stuyvesant asked the directors in Holland for permission to expel the Jews. The answer states two reasons why such a course should not be taken, namely, that it would be unreasonable and unfair especially because of the considerable loss sustained by the Jews in the taking of Brazil, and also because of the large amount of capital which they have invested in the shares of the West India Company.³

While preparing a paper on Asser Levy the writer searched the Court Minutes of New Amsterdam. In these, under date, September 12, 1654, appears the suit by Asser Levy against Rycke Nounes. Both Levy and Rycke Nounes, it is certain, came on the ship St. Catarina and formed part of Captain de la Motthe's company.⁴

In this suit Asser Levy demanded money, which he lent to the defendant at Gamoniké, which the translator of the record informs us is Jamaica.⁵ The defendant in turn states that

¹ Daly, *Settlement*, etc., p. 6. See *Records of New Amsterdam*, vol. 1, p. 240, etc.

² The contract referred to provided that each passenger was to be liable for the cost of transportation of all the rest.

³ See Daly, *Settlement*, etc., p. 9. *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, edited by Brodhead, vol. 14, p. 315.

⁴ See paper by the writer entitled, "Asser Levy, a noted Jewish Burgher of New Amsterdam," *Publications Amer. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 8, and authorities cited. See also *Records of New Amsterdam*, vol. 1, pp. 242, 249, 254, 259.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 242.

she paid Levy's passage from Gamoniké to New Netherland. It seems, therefore, that in any event the ship which brought the first Jews came from, or at least stopped at, Jamaica.

The question, then, presents itself, "Why could not these Jews have come as readily from Jamaica, or some other portion of the West Indies, as from Brazil?"

For the purpose of investigating this question, several old works have been examined, and original contemporary maps sought out.

This much is certain, that the Jews paid passage from Cape St. Anthony. Is this the Cape St. Anthony off Bahia, Brazil? It is submitted that it is not, but that the place referred to in the record is Cape St. Anthony off the western coast of Cuba.

In searching through the Dutch records, the name Cape St. Anthony frequently occurs in other connections, and it is certain that the place mentioned is not in Brazil. Thus shortly after the arrival of the Jews in New York, there appears in the record a considerable correspondence between the Spanish government and the Dutch authorities, concerning a Spanish ship and cargo taken by a Dutch privateer off Cape St. Anthony. One Juan Gaillardo Ferrara was the complainant at whose instance the Spanish government interfered.¹

From this correspondence it conclusively appears that Cape St. Anthony must be somewhere near Jamaica and Mexico, for Gaillardo in his affidavit says, that he was on his way from Jamaica to St. Jago de Kuba, when he was attacked in 1654. His chief witness, as appears in Brodhead's *Colonial Documents*, was one Adrian Jans, and his affidavit gives us an idea of what the Dutch understood by Cape St. Anthony. He states that in the year 1654, sailing in the Spanish advice-boat, bound from Carthagena to Campeachy, and from Campeachy on a full cruise in New Spain,

¹ See *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, edited by Brodhead, vol. 2, p. 28. See also pp. 23, 38, etc.

the said boat in the neighborhood of Cape St. Anthony was boarded and plundered by a Dutch privateer who brought the prize to New Amsterdam.¹ He also states that the same privateer had taken a vessel off the coast of Jamaica.² The records amply show that by Carthagera is meant the City of Venezuela, for there was a direct line of communication between Carthagera and Jamaica.³

Now there is a Cape St. Anthony off the southwestern coast of Cuba, and this undoubtedly is the point meant by the record, for it completely tallies with the above description.

The old maps and books that have been consulted show that Cape St. Anthony, which by the way is now known as Cape Santo Antonio, was one of the most important ports between North and South America.

A glance at the map will show that from its situation it completely commanded the Gulf of Mexico, the Indies and the passage to New Netherland. Spanish ships bound for Mexico, or New Spain, as it was called, the land of gold, had to pass this cape, and near it some of the boldest pirates lay in wait for richly laden vessels.

On several old maps the Cape St. Anthony at Bahia does not appear at all, while Cape St. Anthony in Cuba invariably appears as an important place. This is the case on the map of America, in an atlas published in 1673, known as *Die Unbekannte Neue Welt*.⁴ On other maps Mexico and Central America are known as New Spain, the West Indies by that name, and Brazil simply as Brazil.⁵

¹ *Ib.*, p. 28.

² One affidavit mentioning the capture of a certain ship off Cape St. Anthony, recited that the ship was on a voyage from Jamaica to "St. Jago de Kuba." *Ib.*, p. 38.

³ That the ship was actually captured near Jamaica appears from Brodhead's *Colonial Documents*, vol. 1, p. 577.

⁴ *Die Unbekannte Neue Welt*, by Dr. O. D., Amsterdam, 1673.

⁵ This map applies to Mexico and Central America the name of "Hispania Nova."

Gram's *Atlas of the World*, published in 1897, places St. Anthony exactly where Cape St. Anthony appears on the ancient maps.¹ This port appears strongly marked on Vopell's *Erdglobus*, and on the Paris *Gilt Globe* as early as 1524.²

The *Transactions of the West India Company*, written by De Laet and published by Elzevir, at Leyden, Holland, in 1644, mention Cape St. Anthony frequently, and each time the Cuban Cape is meant. Thus in one place it is spoken of as opposite Campeachy; then as on the southern side of Cuba, and again as in the neighborhood of Florida.³ The Spanish works do likewise; thus Herrera's book, in 1730, speaking of American commerce, says: "From Carthagená we come to Cape St. Anton, on the west side of Cuba about 200 leagues, and from Cape St. Anton to Havana about 50 leagues."⁴

It thus appears that the Dutch records and the West India Company's records, when referring to Cape St. Anthony, mean this important Cuban port and not the promontory off Bahía.

Let us now see what the Dutch records have to say in this connection in regard to the voyage of the Jews. Nowhere do these state that the Jews came from Brazil; quite the contrary, they invariably refer to the Jews as coming from the West Indies.⁵ We have already alluded to the

¹ Cape St. Antonio appears opposite Cape Catoche, at the extreme west end of Cuba.

² Caspar Vopell's *Erdglobus*, of 1542. On this, the only Cape St. Anthony that is shown is in Cuba. See also *Hamburgische Festschrift zur Erinnerung an der Entdeckung Amerikas*. The Paris *Gilt Globe* gives both capes.

³ *Historie ofte Jaerlyck Verhael van de Verricht ighen der Geretroveerde West Indische Compagnie*, Joannes de Laet, Leyden, by Elzevir, 1644. See p. 87, etc.

⁴ *Descripción de las Indias Occidentales de Antonio de Herrera* (1730), p. 4. Cape St. Anton is described as being opposite Honduras.

⁵ See *Records of New Amsterdam* (Court Minutes), vol. 1, p. 249: "Oct. 5, 1654: John Martyas, plf., vs. Assar Leeven, deft." Plaintiff

stop made by the party at Jamaica as evidenced on two occasions by the court records. Looking at the map nothing is more natural than that these Jews set out from Jamaica, went to Cape St. Anthony, which they had to pass, and thence to New Netherland. They may have been robbed by privateers before reaching the Cape, and this would account for their impoverished condition. The fact, too, that they came by a French vessel confirms the view that they came from the Indies where the French had considerable possessions.¹

In another suit by the sailors on the same contract in October, 1654, they are described as the sailors who brought the Jews here from the West Indies.²

The entry in the suit against Asser Levy, October 19, 1654, says that Rycke Nounes demanded payment for freight from the West Indies.³ And on March 15, 1655, we find the order of Van Tienhoven, the sheriff of New York, which reads "that the council have resolved to expel the Jews who came last year from the West Indies."⁴ Investigation shows too that the term West Indies, at this period, had a perfectly definite meaning and in no way included Brazil.⁵

sues "as attorney and agent of the sailors who brought the Jews here from the West Indies." Also p. 254, under date Oct. 19, 1654. "Solomon Pietersen, as attorney for Rycke Nounes *vs.* Asser Leeven." Plaintiff in his capacity aforesaid demands payment of fl. 105.18 which Rycke Nounes paid for transportation for him from the West Indies.

Again, *Records of New Amsterdam*, vol. 1, p. 291, referring to the attempt made to expel the Jews in 1655: "Fiscal Cornelis van Tienhoven informed the Burgomasters and Schepens the Director General and Supreme Council have resolved that the Jews who came last year from the West Indies and now from fatherland must prepare to depart forthwith." See also Valentine's *Manual* for 1849, p. 387.

¹ See *History of West Indies* by Capt. Thos. Southey, vol. I, p. 334-35; *Hist. of Brazil*, by Robert Southey, vol. II, p. 710.

² *Records of New Amsterdam*, vol. I, p. 249, etc.

³ *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 259.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 291, also Valentine's *Manual*, 1849, p. 387.

⁵ See maps and Spanish and Dutch works referred to.

Now the writer does not by any means want to be understood as saying that these early settlers had lived in Jamaica for a long time. All that is claimed is that the Cape St. Anthony from which the Jews came is the port in Cuba, and that there is a possibility that these Jews or some of them were old settlers in the West Indies.

It may be asked, "If these men were old settlers, why did they leave the Indies?" The reason is simple. It is well known that by 1654 the seas around Jamaica and Barbados had become infested with French, Spanish and Dutch privateers and pirates. The records and histories of the time show that all legitimate trade was absolutely ruined. These privateers often descended on neighboring ports, plundering the inhabitants. If these Jews were actually domiciled in Jamaica, they had every reason to leave, both for the reason given and also because Cromwell's fleet which lay in the neighborhood of Jamaica and San Domingo, practically cut off commerce. The histories of Jamaica tell us that when the English took that island in 1655, it was almost depopulated and its plantations ruined.¹ Stuyvesant himself had to go to the West Indies during the year that the Jews arrived, to protest against interference with Dutch trade and the constant capture of Dutch vessels.² The Jews, naturally a nation of traders, had every reason, then, to leave Jamaica or some other portion of the Indies, for some place better suited for commerce.³

¹ It is also known that Cromwell received valuable information from Jewish residents at Jamaica.

² See O'Callaghan's *History of New Netherland*, vol. II, p. 286. Stuyvesant left in December, 1654, and returned in July, 1655.

³ See *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, edited by Brodhead, vol. 2, p. 23. See also complaints made by the States General for losses on account of captures made at Curaçao, etc. Also *Records of New Amsterdam*, vol. I, p. 576, and Harris' *Discoveries and Settlements of the English*, in Pinkerton's Collection, vol. 12, p. 310, etc.

These arguments are advanced merely because of the possibility and not the probability of the Jews having come from there. The writer is aware that the objections will be made, that we do not know that Jews had settled in the Indies in considerable numbers at this period. If, therefore, this paper will serve to encourage research in this regard, its object will be fulfilled.¹

That the field is a fruitful one, appears from a curious note which the writer has discovered and which he ventures to give in full. While the agitation concerning the admission of Jews into England was still going on, one Thomas Violet, who had been a customs official under Charles I, published a pamphlet against admitting them. It is entitled "Petition against the Jews presented to the King's Majesty and the Parliament," and was published in London in 1660. After reviewing Cromwell's policy, and the petition of Menassah ben Israel, he proceeds to give his reasons for keeping out the Jews. Among them the following, "that it would be to the great damage of our merchants whose trade they engross and eat the children's bread and in the Barbadoes they do so swarm, that had not care been taken to banish them in twenty years they would eat out the English, but by the care of this blessed Parliament they were within a year to be banished thence."² This is perhaps the earliest reference to Jews in considerable numbers in the West Indies.

¹Since this paper was written, Mr. Max J. Kohler has called my attention to a book entitled *Eight Chapters in the History of Jamaica, from A. D. 1508-A. D. 1680, Illustrating the Settlement of Jews in the Island*, by Richard Hill, published at Kingston, Jamaica, W. DeCordova, McDougall and Co., no date. From this work it appears that Jews settled in Jamaica as early as the 16th Century and that Jewish settlers were both numerous and influential as early as 1641. After the English conquest they were protected by Cromwell.

²The writer found this volume at the Astor Library, New York City.

But to return to Brazil. Besides the proof that the Dutch records do not refer to Cape St. Anthony in Bahia but to the Cape in Cuba, there is still another argument that these New York Jews did not come from Bahia: there were then no professing Jews in Bahia.

There were, it is true, many Jews in Brazil, but it is equally true that none of them resided at Bahia. The Dutch had captured that city in 1623, but they lost it again in 1625, and from that date onward, Bahia remained uninterruptedly in the possession of the bigoted Portuguese, in spite of many efforts to retake it.¹ The Dutch subsequently took Recife or Pernambuco which became their great stronghold, and in which thousands of Jews resided. The Dutch conquests extended north of Recife, but they never managed to get south of it.²

In an old work on Brazil by Nieuhoff, the author states that Bahia and Rio were from 1625 on constantly under Portuguese rule, and it was from Bahia as a central point that the Portuguese under Vieyra and others again conquered the country.³

Heeren, in his *Historical Researches* says, "All Pernambuco and some contiguous provinces were brought under the dominion of the Dutch who were unable, however, to make themselves masters of Bahia."⁴

Throughout the whole struggle, Bahia was the strong hold of the Portuguese, the Jesuits and the Inquisition, and its record is one of the most intense bigotry.⁵ Moreover,

¹ See Heeren's *Historical Researches*, p. 113. Also Nieuhoff's *History of Brazil* in vol. 14 of Pinkerton's *Collection*, p. 733.

² See *Spanish and Portuguese South America*, by R. G. Watson, vol. 2.

³ Nieuhoff's *History of Brazil*. This work is contained in Pinkerton's *Collection of Travels*, vol. 14, p. 733. See also *Spanish and Portuguese South America*, by R. G. Watson, vol. 2, p. 74, and Southey's *History of Brazil*, vol. 2, p. 227, etc.

⁴ Heeren, *Historical Researches*, p. 113. St. Salvador was another name for Bahia.

⁵ See *Spanish and Portuguese South America*, by R. G. Watson, vol. 2, p. 71. The Holy Office was established at Bahia. When a liberal

during the entire war, there were the most stringent enactments on both sides to prevent all trade between that city and Recife. The Jews at Recife, therefore, would naturally go to the northward and not south towards their enemies.

From Bahia, the Portuguese fleet proceeded to attack Recife, and that great Dutch city surrendered on January 15, 1654.¹ In September of the same year, Jews came to New York.

The presence of Jews at Recife is shown by Beauchamp in his history of Brazil. The French historian after describing the despair of the Dutch at the capture of Recife proceeds: "Recife was now given over to disorder and anarchy. More than five thousand Jews, who knew no other interest but that of commerce, in their alarm and fear of pillage, in which they saw their wealth menaced, ran through the streets filling the air with their cries and lamentations."² Five thousand Jews were therefore in Recife at the time of its capitulation.

It would be absurd to imagine that these Jews after the capitulation would run into Bahia, the enemies' stronghold. The probabilities are that they hastily repaired to the North and settled at various places in the West Indies.

Du Tertre informs us that some nine hundred Jews and Dutch settled at Guadeloupe and a few Jews at Martinique,

plan for founding a Brazilian Company was proposed, it was at once opposed and defeated by the Inquisition. See also Southey's *History of Brazil*, vol. ii, p. 241.

¹ *Ib.*, vol. ii, pp. 239, 242.

² *Histoire du Bresil*, by Alphonse de Beauchamp, Paris, 1815, vol. 3, p. 317. Describing the taking of Recife on January 15, 1654, the French historian proceeds: "Le Recif attaqué cette fois dans toutes les regles de l'art militaire etait déjà livré au desordre et à l'anarchie. Plus de cinq mille Juifs, qui n'y connaissaient d'autre interet que celui de leur commerce, alarmés, et cedant à la crainte du pillage dont ils voyaient leur richesses menacées, parcouraient les rues en remplissant l'air de leur cris et de leur gémissemens."

and Southey tells us that at both places the Jews were plundered on their arrival.¹

It is more than likely therefore that many of these Brazilian Jews seeking refuge in the West Indian Islands in January and February, 1654, came to Jamaica and thence embarked by way of Cape St. Anthony in Cuba, for New Netherland.

To sum up, this paper merely claims the following :

1. That the Jews who settled in New York did not come from Bahia, Brazil.

2. That they came by way of Cape St. Anthony in Cuba.

3. That there is a possibility that they may have been early settlers in the West Indies who left on account of the danger to trade at that period. And,

4. That the most probable view is that they came from Recife in Brazil when that city fell into the hands of the Portuguese on January 15, 1654, that they either lost their goods at Recife, or were plundered on the way, and that between January and August, they had found refuge in Jamaica (Gamoniké) or some other West Indian Island, whence they embarked to the Dutch Colony, of New Netherland.

¹ See Southey's *History of Brazil*, 1817, vol. 2. Also *Ib.*, p. 710. Also Du Tertre, vol. I, p. 528, also pp. 460-5. Du Tertre states that the Governor of Martinique was willing to receive the refugees from Recife, but the Jesuits interposed and represented "that nothing could be more contrary to the King's intentions than that Heresy and Judaism should be received into his colonies." "Their remonstrances were so strong that the governor reluctantly retracted his promise, and treated them as civilly as he could." A few Jews were allowed to settle, and for this the Governor was held up to ridicule. See *Relation du Voyage de Cayenne*, par M. Biet. Southey quotes Du Tertre's defense of the governor which exhibits even stronger feeling. "C'est une imposture effroiable, et un mensonge enorme de dire qu'on ait jamais donné la liberté aux Juifs de faire la moindre action de leur religion. M. Parquet ne se servoit des Juifs qui estoient venus de Bresil en son Isle que comme des esclaves pour les bien de son peuple, ainsi que l'on s'ensert a Rome en Avignon, et à Metz." Vol. I, p. 528. See also *History of the West Indies*, by Capt. Thomas Southey, vol. I, p. 334.

THE GERMAN-JEWISH MIGRATION TO AMERICA.

BY MAX J. KOHLER, A. M., LL. B., *New York.*

It has been customary to date the arrival of German Jews in America from about the year 1848, and to refer to the earlier Jewish settlers as Sephardim, and not Ashkenazim. Though it is undeniable that America was first settled by the Spanish and Portuguese who, speaking roughly, preceded the Ashkenazim, we must be very cautious in drawing inferences unwarranted by facts, as to exclusive Sephardic settlements before the Revolutionary War, based, for instance, on the adoption of the Sephardic ritual or the like. Such arguments are disposed of by the testimony given, by a witness in New York in the *Uriah P. Levy* will contest,¹ where the question was raised as to what institution was referred to by Mr. Levy, when he left certain bequests to the "Portuguese Synagogue" in New York. The witness explained that the term "Portuguese" referred only to the ritual, and thus testified that the Shearith Israel Congregation, the pillar of the Sephardim in New York, was composed partly of non-Sephardic members. To mention but one of many cases, Alexander Zuntz, whose name places him among the Ashkenazim, was one of the principal officers of that congregation about the close of the Revolutionary War.

On a former occasion I pointed out that there were some isolated German Jews among the earliest settlers of

¹ *Levy v. Levy*, 33 N. Y., 97. See case on appeal, vol. 84, March term, 1865, N. Y. Law Institute Library.

New York (*Publications*, III, pp. 75-6), and that as early as 1712, in connection with the plan to erect a school-library and chapel in New York City, Rev. John Sharpe made the observation that New York contained "a synagogue of Jews, and many ingenious men of that nation from Poland, Hungary, Germany, etc." (Daly: *Settlement of the Jews*, etc. pp. 29-30, note). Subsequent to that date, we find Jewish names in ever-increasing frequency. An examination of the early records confirms the statement made by Isaac Harby in 1826, as regards that date, that "as to the descent of the Jews of the United States, they are principally German and English." (*North American Review*, July, 1826, p. 73.) I doubt, however, whether this statement as to relative numbers, would be true of the period preceding 1800, though it is important to observe that the early isolated Ashkenazic Jews were prominent far beyond their numbers in this earlier period, as witness the careers of such men as Haym Salomon, Jonas Phillips, the Gratzs, the Simons, Hyman Levy, the Harts, Sampson Simson Isaac Moses, etc. Of the German Jews who came to America before the close of our Revolutionary War, we may well say that they were above the average in intelligence, and this accounts in a measure for their success. Setting aside certain religious sects which were transplanted en masse, there was no large stream of migration of any denomination from Germany to America in those days.¹ No German colonies were established here, as the Germans were not a seafaring people like Spain, Portugal, Holland and England. As regards these early German-Jewish immigrants, who arrived here in very small numbers, they unquestionably joined the ranks of the Sephardic Jews for purposes of

¹ Mr. Leon Hühner, in the course of a paper read before the Society in December, 1900, on "Jews in Georgia in the Colonial Period," refers to a considerable settlement of German Jews in that colony about 1733, apparently constituting an exception to the generalization made above.

worship, and were therefore properly counted as members of Portuguese synagogues. Socially, it is true, they remained pretty much aloof from each other.

These same characteristics were not exhibited in such degree by the next class of German-Jewish immigrants who came over here during and soon after the Napoleonic Wars, and who were actuated by different motives and possessed different traits. In order to mark the difference between these distinct types, we may accept characterizations of the Portuguese and German types, furnished us by competent authority. What James Picciotto, himself of Sephardic origin, says of these types in his valuable *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, (p. 2) is equally true of our own land, as applied to the Portuguese, and these later German-Jewish immigrants:

“The spectacle presented by the struggles of the first German-Jewish settlers in this country differs as widely from that offered by their Portuguese brethren as a Flemish interior by Cuyp,—plain, homely, rough, and yet clearly displaying in the figures delineated some of the qualities that make up a nation’s greatness—differs from the representation by Rubens of an imposing municipal gathering at the Hague, adorned with a crowd of richly-attired personages. Yet both paintings only bring forth the various virtues of one race, and describe various phases of the same national life. The original immigrants into England from Germany and Poland were undoubtedly placed at a great disadvantage as regards the Spanish and Portuguese settlers. These latter were usually men of polished manners, of old lineage, whose ancestors anciently had figured at courts,¹ and who in modern

¹ This idea is strongly confirmed by the recent utterances of the distinguished historian, our honorary member, Dr. Henry C. Lea, who has referred to an interesting and suggestive incident, bearing on this point in his paper on “The Martyrdom of San Pedro Arbues,” in the *Am. Hist. Association Papers*, vol. III. He says, in speaking of the Marrances in Spain, in the closing days

times had constituted an aristocracy of commerce in Holland. The former were persons whose forefathers for ages had been subjected to every kind of degrading persecution, and had been debarred from pursuing any ennobling avocations; persons who themselves had neither been endowed by their fathers with worldly goods, nor with liberal knowledge. Nevertheless, to their credit be it said, these German Israelites, uncouth, illiterate, narrow-minded and poor, as the greater part of them must have been, friendless, without resources, and ignorant of the English language, as they unquestionably were, by dint of strict frugality, of unceasing activity, of indomitable energy, of considerable innate, if uncultivated, abilities, succeeded in acquiring more or less considerable fortunes, and in raising themselves to positions of trust and honor. For a long time prejudices against them lingered in the breast of the pure Sephardi, even until after the traits that had inspired this ungenerous feeling had ceased to exist. The question became then merely a question of caste. Many old-fashioned Portuguese at one period held themselves socially aloof from their Ashkenazi brethren, and would no more have given to one of the latter their daughter in marriage than a Brahmin would have affianced a dusky child of his to a Sudrah. As the German community advanced in enlightenment, and grew in wealth and numbers,

of Spanish glory: "At the same time conversion had opened a new brilliant career for them. Relieved from the disabilities which oppressed so heavily their unconverted brethren, the keen intellects and superior business capacity of the New Christians speedily won for them commanding influence." "They rose to the loftiest stations in Church and State; they accumulated enormous wealth; and they intermarried into the noblest families."

Still more suggestive is his footnote: "About 1560, Cardinal Mendoza Y. Bobyadilla presented to Philip II a memorial in which he showed that virtually the whole nobility of Castile and Aragon was contaminated with Jewish blood." "It is full of curious details of family history most displeasing to family pride, and richly deserved the name which it obtained of 'Tizon de la nobleza,' or 'Blot on the nobility.'" Compare Kayserling's *Christopher Columbus*, page 21.

the barriers separating them from the older established branch of their race in England were gradually thrown down. When the former section of the English Jews had outstripped the latter in material advantages and external influence, it would have been too palpably absurd for the minority to affect a superiority, which no longer existed, over the majority."

Again, in speaking of the period 1760, when both the Portuguese and German Jews of England were eager to offer their congratulations to George III, upon his accession, the same writer says (p. 117):

"In truth, hitherto the somewhat haughty Sephardic Jews had looked upon their pushing, thriving and rising German brethren with a rather doubtful eye; very much in the same way, perhaps, as a marquis of ancient descent regards from his paternal acres the ambitious and self-asserting manufacturer, who buys all the land around him, and erects a mansion as fine as that of the nobleman."

Perhaps it will not be out of order, to further characterize the Portuguese-Jewish settlers in America, and their work somewhat more fully, before taking up the subject of this paper, all the more so, as it may help to bring out more clearly, the work of the German-Jewish settlers. The marked assimilability of the Jew has frequently been commented on; hence we note that the Sephardim brought with them Spanish pride, dignity, aristocracy, and a certain Southern indolence and conservatism. The fierce persecution to which the Spanish Jew had been subjected had not been continued over centuries, as in the case of his non-Sephardic brethren, and had not broken his spirit nor pride, nor obscured the memory of the achievements of the "Golden Age of Jewish History." On the other hand, freedom from necessity and from hard daily struggle during several preceding centuries, had resulted in the production of the greatest men of Spanish Jewry a couple of centuries before the Expulsion. What Mr. Picciotto refers to as the "strict

frugality, unceasing activity, indomitable energy, push and innate ability" of the German Jew, were traits not so marked perhaps in the Sephardic settlers. Of course in America there were some notable exceptions, like the Gomezes, the Lopezes, the Riveras and Touros.

But aside from this fact, no impartial student can deny that the Jew in America could not possibly have achieved his present important and influential position in the general community, had the ranks of the Sephardic settlers not been strongly recruited by the German-Jewish immigrants. Again we may turn with profit to Mr. Picciotto's work. He says (p. 176) speaking of London, though the passage is equally applicable to America :

"It would require much time and space to endeavor to trace why one of the two communities of Jews, existing in London a century since, should have remained stationary, or nearly so, whilst the other should have increased tenfold. We must of course allow for the natural difference in growth between the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, the fresh supply of whom from abroad was, if not exhausted, at all events very restricted, owing to the original source being nearly dry; and the German congregations which could draw a practically inexhaustible supply of fresh blood, from the millions of their coreligionists vegetating in poverty and ignorance in the crowded Ghettos of German cities, or in the wild plains of Poland. But one source of the stagnation is so obvious and palpable, that we cannot refrain from recording it. It is the numerous desertions that have occurred from the ranks of the Sephardic community, that are at the root of the diminished importance of their ancient congregation. It is to those who lapsed from the old path of Israel, and who forsook the old faith for the new dispensation; to those who sold their spiritual privileges for a mess of pottage."

As applied to the United States, we are also bound to recognize as factors, the limited spheres of possible Sephardic

migration, the frequent falling-off due to intermarriage and the like, and the growth of religious indifference and laxity. Because the German Reform movement in America has justified various prunings-off and abandonments of religious traditions and ceremonies, it has become customary in certain quarters to hold reform responsible for religious laxness in our midst. It is however evident that these tendencies were marked, long before Reform was introduced, and may be observed in some of the Sephardic communities in America. See for the New York community, the work of travels, published by the Swedish traveler, Peter Kalm, about 1748, (Daly's "*Settlement*" pp. 48-50), and the compilation of extracts from the Minutes of the Shearith Israel Congregation, made by the late Judge Joachimson, utilized in part by the present writer in a former paper read before this Society, "Phases of Jewish Life in New York before 1800," (*Publications*, vol. II, p. 88, et seq.). The same is measurably true of the Jewish communities of Jamaica, Curaçao, Charleston and Savannah.

Dr. M. Kayserling began one of his valuable contributions to our *Publications* (Vol. 6, p. 5), entitled "A Memorial Sent by German Jews to the President of the Continental Congress," with the following suggestive remarks: "When did the earliest immigration of German Jews into the free States of North America begin? This question, so important for history, has to my knowledge not been investigated up to the present time. It must at all events have begun earlier than is generally assumed." That distinguished Jewish historian then proceeded to analyze a petition to Congress, published as early as 1783, in Germany, purporting to have been drafted by a German Jew on behalf of several thousand coreligionists in Germany, and aiming at securing leave for them to settle in America, their offer being to cheerfully pay even double taxes for leave to found colonies here. The circumstances which induced this desire to migrate to America are fully set forth: the protection money and the

heavy taxes they were compelled to pay in their German home as Jews; the irksome civil and political disabilities they were laboring under, and, above all, the outrageous and intolerable limitation as to marriage, which permitted only a certain number of Jews to be married at a time.¹ We have no evidence that this letter was ever forwarded, much less that Congress ever acted upon it, but it is probable that the conditions outlined in it directed German-Jewish migration to Philadelphia soon after this date. Such migration was responsible for the founding in Philadelphia of the Congregation Rodeph Shalom, which has recently celebrated its centennial anniversary.² Probably the same current of migration had led to the founding of Jewish communities a little earlier in Lancaster and other places in Pennsylvania and Maryland.³

Meanwhile in Germany, the Jewish inhabitants, whose hopes and ideals had been elevated by the writings of Dohm and Mendelssohn, for a brief interval secured a taste of freedom, when Napoleon's occupation of German territory temporarily repealed Jewish disabilities. But these harsh religious discriminations were reimposed during the reactionary period following the battle of Waterloo, and the result was a strong tide of German-Jewish migration towards America, particularly from Bavaria and Baden. It is interesting, in this connection, to read a letter written in 1807, by a member of the Bleichroeder family of Berlin. He writes from New York where he has just landed, to his relatives at home, and the publication in the Berlin Jewish periodical *Ha Measeph*, at the time, probably attracted con-

¹ See somewhat fuller translation of this letter in the *Jewish Times*, November 18 and 25, 1870.

² Compare Morais, *Jews of Philadelphia*, p. 70 *et seq.*, and Krauskopf, "Half a Century of Judaism in the United States," *Am. Jews' Annual*, 1883.

³ Compare article by Dr. J. H. Hollander in *Publications*, II, p. 42, V. 117; also, *Biography of Joseph Simon*, I, 121; Markens' *Hebrews in America*, p. 78 *et seq.*, and *Am. Jews' Annual*, 1893, p. 96.

siderable attention at home. A translation of the letter in question, throwing light on New York conditions of the day, is given below.¹

The theory that this current of German-Jewish migration dates from 1848 is completely refuted by the frequent and explicit references to this immigration, both in Jewish and non-Jewish sources, published prior to 1848, as well as by the establishment in New York and elsewhere of numerous German-Jewish congregations prior to that year.

To illustrate this point, we may quote a paragraph from one of Mrs. L. Maria Childs' *Letters from New*

¹ I am indebted to A. S. Freidus, Esq., of the Judaica Department of the New York Public Library, for calling my attention to the letter, which translated, reads as follows :

"NEWS BY MAIL. *Situation of the Jews of the United States of America.* (Passages from a letter, dated New York, July 20, 1807, from a son of the Jewish family Bleichroeder, resident here, to his parents and relatives.)

"For all the inconveniences of a toilsome journey by water and land experienced by me, only a small part of which I have acquainted you with, dearest parents and brothers and sisters, I find myself fully reimbursed through the acquisition of valuable experience. . . . Among the number of the happy residents of this New World, all our co-religionists located here may also be included. These, who are little, if at all distinguishable from our brethren in Europe in their religious customs, are composed of natives and immigrants. The latter have, in respect to social refinement and culture, a great advantage over the former. In spite of this both are treated by the Government here with equal mildness. In fact no distinctions are recognized in this State with respect to religion in its bearings upon political rights and privileges. Yes, it is even the case that several of the naturalized foreign Jews here have succeeded in securing important positions as members of official bodies, military officers, etc. It is particularly this cultured class of Jews which has treated me so generously and assisted me with advice and deed. . . . If God will grant to the world universal peace, and the seas will cease to separate us, I shall have opportunity frequently and with greater particularity to write to you further on this subject."

The German, in which the letter is couched, is particularly elegant.

York (p. 42), written on September 23, 1841, dealing with the Jews of New York, in which she says: "Last week a new synagogue was consecrated in Attorney Street, making, I believe, five Jewish synagogues in this city, comprising in all about ten thousand of this ancient people. The congregation of the new synagogue are German emigrants, driven from Bavaria, the Duchy of Baden, etc., by oppressive laws. One of these laws forbade Jews to marry; and among the emigrants were many betrothed couples, who married as soon as they landed on our shores, trusting their future support to the God of Jacob. If not as 'rich as Jews,' they are now most of them doing well in the world; and one of the first proofs they gave of their prosperity was the erection of a place of worship."

Israel Joseph Benjamin, a German-Jewish traveler, who published about 1862, a two-volume work entitled, *Drei Jahre in Amerika*, 1859-1862, throws considerable light on early German-Jewish settlements, and most of his statements on these points seem to be approximately correct. Besides making the customary investigations of the traveler and sight-seer, he took pains to meet the best-informed Jewish residents. He suggests that this second or German-Jewish migration to America began about 1836, and increased year by year thereafter. (I, p. 45.) He also points out that Bavaria contributed the largest quota of immigrants, because of her peculiarly harsh marriage laws and commercial restrictions. The early German settlers commonly arrived here without means, frequently without any education other than of the most rudimentary character. Mr. Benjamin well sums up the secret of their success as follows: "They brought along, however, as staff and support over the unpromising beginning, optimism joined with sound common sense, trust in God, and a ready arm, besides indefatigable industry and inexhaustible perseverance, together with those peculiarly Jewish traits, economy and sobriety." For many, the peddling stage was the first round in the ladder of success, the

profits of the first few weeks being employed in paying off the original liabilities for the stock in trade; then horses and wagons were acquired in order to place their business on a more imposing basis. A fair share of the profits soon found its way back to Germany, to aid dependent parents or relatives. In consequence, many others at home were impelled to exploit this land of golden promise, and so the numbers of immigrants constantly increased. These peddling tours carried the new arrivals over large tracts of territory, and led to new Jewish settlements near and far. That the unfamiliar liberty here enjoyed in some cases led also to license, must also be conceded by the unbiased historian, in view of contemporary records and references. The extent of the German-Jewish migration is indicated by the fact, noted by the German writer Gerstäcker, in his *Amerikanische Wald- und Strombilder*, published in 1849, after many years residence and travel in America, that not one-twentieth of the German immigrants to America were Christians. This passage was quoted in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, vol. 13, p. 649.

As New York City has maintained the largest German-Jewish population throughout the century, a little fuller consideration of the formation of Jewish congregations here, will not be out of place. In 1825, a second congregation (Bnai Jeshurun) was formed, which adopted the English ritual, instead of the Portuguese in vogue in the Shearith Israel Congregation, which had been the only Jewish synagogue in New York for over a century. There were some Germans among its members. By 1830, possibly some years before, a distinctively German congregation was organized, which took the name Anshe Chesed; this was for many years the largest German-Jewish congregation in the United States, and became one of the constituent congregations of the Congregation Temple Beth El, when the latter was organized in 1874. In 1840, a Polish congregation was organized with the name Shaaray Zedek; in 1841 a fifth

congregation, which took the name Shaaray Hashomayim, was formed, with a German ritual, this being the one before referred to in the passage from Mrs. Childs. Two years later, in 1842, the Rodeph Shalom congregation, also German was organized, and in 1862, twenty-three different existing congregations were enumerated by Mr. Benjamin.¹ The religiousness and piety of these early immigrants is clearly indicated by the number and size of these congregations, which kept pace with the growth of Jewish population. The same facts suggest another characteristic, presently to be referred to, the independence of thought, liberty and self-assertiveness of the immigrants, which impelled each little body or clique to form a separate and distinct congregation for itself, in which their own shades of belief and dogma might find expression, instead of coalescing and consolidating into a few large congregations or organizations. Much light is thrown on the character and purposes of these early immigrants by a few incidents in the early history of the Anshe Chesed Congregation in New York. So humble were the beginnings of this congregation that about 1830, when it was organized, it met for service in a small rented room, to which each member, on Fridays in winter, would bring his piece of wood to be used as fuel in order to render the meeting-place warm enough for use.² Soon, however, the members became numerous and prosperous enough to build a synagogue in Henry Street, which was consecrated on Passover, 1840. The acquisition of a minister during all this time had been quite out of the question, and the services consisted solely of the reading of their orthodox ritual by a *hazan*. At length, in 1845, three

¹ Benjamin, *Drei Jahre in Amerika*, vol. 1; *Statistics of Jews of the U. S.*, published by the Union of Am. Hebrew Cong., 1880.

² See Temple Beth El Dedication Number of the *American Hebrew*, Sept. 18, 1891, containing a "History of the Beth El Congregation" by the writer; also the earlier sources, Benjamin, *Drei Jahre in Amerika*, and the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, New York Correspondence, beginning vol. 10, p. 18 etc.

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of the four German congregations of the city joined forces, and engaged as their Rabbi, the Rev. Dr. Max Lilienthal, who had arrived here shortly before with a brilliant reputation established abroad. Chief among these congregations was *Anshe Chesed*. The three together, had a total membership of over 700; yet, by their combined efforts, only a salary of \$1000 could be secured for their Rabbi, so humble were their circumstances. Dr. Lilienthal himself, probably erroneously, called this the first appointment of a minister by an American-Jewish congregation, the few other earlier leaders of congregations having been *hazanim*, to whose regular functions, those of a rabbi were occasionally added. That Dr. Lilienthal's three congregations kept him busy, is beyond question. However, he devised the following system, so as to satisfy and administer to all three: every Sabbath morning the service was read at the same hour in each synagogue, but after the reading was over, the members of two of the congregations hurried to the synagogue of the third, so as to hear Dr. Lilienthal's German sermon, each synagogue being in turn selected as the place at which he preached. His labors, however, proved extremely arduous in consequence of hostility to his systematic and well-directed efforts to reform existing abuses, and difficulties arose which induced him in 1849 to sever his connection with all but the *Anshe Chesed* Congregation, and with that also the next year.

Meanwhile, as already pointed out, the newly-arrived German Jews wandered all over the country and settled at the most distant places. At first, the absence of a *minyán* among the Jewish settlers, or their poverty, prevented them from starting congregations, but soon new congregations sprang up all over the land, particularly among the German-Jewish immigrants. The number of separate congregational or institutional, historical sketches that have already appeared, is much larger than is generally supposed. It is of course quite beyond the scope of the

present paper to enlarge upon these different histories, a useful purpose may, however, be served by collecting references to some of these sketches, even though they are of unequal merit, and though each must be conceded to be incomplete. Of course, much light is thrown on the early Philadelphia German-Jewish settlers by Henry S. Morais' work, *The Jews of Philadelphia*. As regards New York we may refer to the very interesting sketch of Temple Emanuel, contained in the valuable book devoted to a history of that congregation by the late Myer Stern. The history of Temple Beth El contained in the "Dedication Number" issued by the *American Hebrew*, has already been referred to. A pamphlet history of the Rodeph Shalom Congregation of New York was issued on the occasion of its 50th anniversary in 1892. Considerable light on all the Jewish congregations and institutions of New York was afforded by the *Souvenir Book of the Fair* in aid of the Educational Alliance and the Hebrew Technical Institute, published in 1895, as also by the more general works of Markens, and the collection of *Statistics of the Jews of the United States*, published by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1880, and the work of I. J. Benjamin, already referred to.

As to the B'ne Israel Congregation of Cincinnati, see the interesting historical sketch published on the occasion of its 70th anniversary by Rev. Dr. D. Philipson in 1894. A sketch of the Har Sinai Congregation of Baltimore was published as a souvenir on the occasion of its 50th anniversary in 1892; and the California Jewish Community has been several times written up by Dr. Voorsanger in the pages of the *American Jews' Annual* (No. 5, 1889, pp. 50-66), and in his own *Pacific Jewish Annual* (vol. 1, pp. 7-37).¹ Dr. B. Felsenthal has set forth the early

¹ Since the above was written, Dr. Voorsanger has published an admirable and scholarly history of his congregation in San Francisco, in book form, entitled *The Chronicles of Emanu El* in celebration of its 50th anniversary in 1900.

history of the Chicago Jewish Community in his pamphlet, entitled "The Beginnings of the Chicago Sinai Congregation."¹

Details of the Charleston Jewish Community have been given by Dr. Philipson in his "The Progress of the Jewish Reform Movement in the United States," published in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, (October, 1897) and in Isaac Harby's *Collected Writings*. The Buffalo Jewish Community was described by Rev. S. Falk in a paper entitled "A History of the Israelites in Buffalo" (*Buffalo Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. I). These special treatises must be supplemented by references to contemporary Jewish journalism, particularly to the pages of the *Occident*, the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, the *Asmonean*, the *Sinai*, the *Jewish Messenger*, the *American Israelite*, the *American Hebrew* and the *Jewish Times*. See also: "A Sketch of Judaism in America" by Isaac M. Wise (*Am. Jews' Annual*, vol. I, 1885); "Half a Century of Judaism in the United States" by Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf (*Am. Jews' Annual*, vol. IV, 1888); criticisms of the latter by Rev. Dr. K. Kohler, entitled, "Some Plain and Telling Words Regarding Rabbi J. Krauskopf" (*Am. Hebrew*, December 30, 1887, January 6, 1888); Rupp's *Religious Denominations of the United States*, article on the Jews by Isaac Leeser, 1844; Halliday's *The Church in America and its Baptism of Fire*, 1896 (Jews and Judaism in America, by Max J. Kohler, pp. 574-588); "A Sketch of the Beginnings of Jewish Congregational Life in America," by M. J. Kohler (*Pacific Jews' Annual*, vol. 3, 1899); "The Jews of New York," by Dr. Wheatley, (*The Century*, January and February, 1892.)²

¹ Compare also the recently published special issue of the *Reform Advocate*, of May 4, 1901, on *The Jews of Illinois*, by Herman Eleassof, edited by Dr. E. G. Hirsch, and also a *History of Congregation Beth El*, Detroit, Michigan, 1850-1900, published in 1900.

² See also the bibliography of sketches of Jewish congregations in New York City, prepared by A. S. Freidus, Esq., for the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, May, 1901, pp. 198-200.

Recognition should also be made of the higher class of German-Jewish immigrants who came over here in 1848 and thereafter. Political persecution and reactions at this time induced many people of high culture, and frequently of means, to migrate to this land of freedom, and the example thus set by victims of political persecution spurred on other immigrants as well, who were not obliged by pecuniary necessity to commence as low down on the commercial ladder of success, as peddling represents. On the other hand, the discovery of gold in California tempted the more venturesome. Partly through the influence of these more cultured immigrants, partly in consequence of their own innate love for culture and self-improvement, the German-Jewish settlers in America proceeded to develop and inculcate love of education, refinement, learning, comfort, religion, charity and benevolence in all their phases, and to actively identify themselves as American citizens with our national, civil and political life. Ghettos were not permitted to exist at that time, and while Jews actively figured in American politics, it was not as leaders of any "solid Jewish vote." Some of these features are indicated in an extremely suggestive passage from a private letter, written by no less distinguished a German-American citizen than Francis Lieber in 1869, to the great jurist Professor Bluntschli—a letter which was, of course, not written for publication (*Life and Letters of Francis Lieber*, p. 390). Lieber there said: "The applications of Germans for all possible appointments is at present enormous, the Jews among them being naturally in the majority. The German Jews in America gain in influence daily, being rich, intelligent and educated, or at least seeking education. They read better books than the rest of the Germans, the booksellers tell me. How does this happen?"

When we come to consider some of the aspects of German-Jewish success in the United States, we observe that these immigrants reflected in advanced form, some of the most

marked characteristics of the German generally. We note the same remarkable and unusual combination of an extreme love for liberty in all its phases, existing side by side with a genius for organization, order and systematization. This combination of characteristics led, on the one hand, to the development of distinct and independent congregations representing every phase of belief and culture, and on the other hand, to the remarkable creation of an enormous number of distinct well-conducted and well-systematized organizations of the most varied character.¹ Partly because of their enormously increased numbers, partly because of their inherent characteristics, the German Jews proceeded to thrust aside the established Portuguese system of making the synagogue itself the centre of charitable and social as well as religious life, and innumerable separate organizations of a charitable, fraternal, literary or social character sprang up. The result was that the synagogue was no longer the centre of Jewish life in all its phases. In this fact lies the explanation of many of the distinctively American characteristics of our contemporary communal Jewish life. Many of these separate organizations developed in scope and degree, in a manner such as could never have been anticipated—a development not reached by our coreligionists abroad. On the other hand, interests became diversified, and a pronounced tendency towards specialized charitable, fraternal, literary or social organization away from Synagogue activities, resulted.

It may be appropriate to conclude this sketch of the German Jew in America, with an extract from the very suggestive characterization of his work, contained in a paper, published by Rev. Dr. K. Kohler in the *Menorah Monthly*,

¹ Compare, for instance, the interesting series of articles on the "History of the Independent Order of the B'ne B'rith," by Julius Bien, *Menorah Monthly*, beginning vol. I, No. 1, (July, 1896); also 50th Anniversary Exercises, *Menorah Monthly*, October and November, 1893.

(Nov., 1888) on "The Three Elements of American Judaism" (the Portuguese, German and Polish), in which the German Jew was portrayed as follows:

"The German Jew's once noble stature was bent at an early age by sore oppression. His pride was crushed by unceasing persecution. But in this fiery ordeal his heart was purified, his sentiment refined and deepened. He has no great philosophers to boast of, but the saintliest of martyrs, the noblest types of moralists, were his. His home life was distinguished by greater purity, woman's dignity was more recognized, polygamy more rigorously condemned by him. They say that sadness elicits the sweet strains from the breast of the nightingale. So does the melodious song of the German Jew re-echo the woe of the Crusades. But he also caught up the music and song, the humor and wit, the folklore and custom of the German people. He entered in closer sympathies with German life. German became to him the sacred language of home, the holy mother tongue. His mind was impregnated with German sentiment; he was no longer an Oriental. His ethics is more humanitarian. And when after a long and dreary winter, Mendelssohn and Lessing appeared like princes to redeem the sleeping beauty, German literature and sentiment, from a long sleep, both Jew and Gentile celebrated the resurrection. * * * * What France and America have done towards liberating men, German thought did towards emancipating the human mind. In this great work of individual freedom, the German Jews took a prominent part, not only individually, through such men as Mendelssohn, Heine, Boerne, Auerbach, Riesser, Kompert, Meyerbeer, but as a body. For all have, knowingly or unknowingly, imbibed the idealism of Schiller, Lessing and Jean Paul. They felt that religion is something more than mere form. All the enlightened had learned from Mendelssohn that religion exists for the sake of man, not for the sake of a sect. * * * *

"True enough, the large host of German Jews that first

landed in America were far from being philosophers or idealists, or even enlightened. But while battling bravely and successfully for independence, manhood, honor and social position, until the integrity, the wisdom and skill of the German Jews made themselves felt in every city and in every market and exchange throughout the land, they learned how to use their plain common-sense, and apply it also to Jewish life. * * * * As Jewish opulence is manifested by palatial residences, why should not also gorgeous temples and grand edifices devoted to charity tell of the prosperity and gratitude of the Jew? The German Jew improved and reformed our religious and charitable institutions, built those magnificent structures which are the pride and the glory of American Judaism, enlarged the scope of our work of benevolence, created most of our fraternities, our chief institutions of learning, setting up philanthropy as the aim and the ideal of Judaism. They accorded to the Jewish woman a place in the field of religion and charity. Rebecca Gratz, the heroine of *Ivanhoe*, the founder of the Jewish Sunday-school, was the daughter of a German. German idealism made the Jewish cause triumphant everywhere. German Jews gave, in large numbers, their life-blood for American greatness in the late war, and German Jews are found to be the intermediators of culture, workers for broad philanthropic and humanitarian ideas. America, with its vast conglomeration of races and sects, needs the German Jew as a cosmopolitan agency, as a cementing link; he is in greatest consonance with her ideal of God-fearing, law-abiding, large-hearted citizenship."

FRANCIS SALVADOR,

A PROMINENT PATRIOT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

BY LEON HÜHNER, A. M., LL.B., *New York.*

The Jews of the South during the American Revolution proved conclusively, not only that Jews were staunch patriots but also that they were willing to shed their blood as well as risk their fortunes in their country's cause. In South Carolina and in Georgia, the great majority of the Jews entered the ranks and did good service on the field of battle.¹ The names of several of these patriots have been handed down to posterity, and yet the one who was perhaps the most prominent of all has been comparatively neglected.

Most of the Jewish patriots throughout the colonies were merchants who had worked their way up by the road of commerce. Some, like Haym Salomon of Pennsylvania assisted the American cause financially, others like Col. Franks were soldiers. The subject of the present sketch was reared in luxury. He placed his fortune at the disposal of his adopted country; he fought for that country on the field of battle, and besides this, takes rank with the leaders of the Revolution in South Carolina, as the colleague of Rutledge, of Pinckney and of Drayton. His career was unfortunately brief, yet it was as brilliant as it was brief. The name of the Jewish patriot to whom I refer is Francis Salvador.

It may be interesting to digress here, in order to give a brief account of the Salvador family. Picciotto, in his Anglo-

¹ See *Topographical, Historical and other Sketches of Charleston*, by J. L. E. W. Shecut, 1819.

Jewish History, states that the family came to England from Holland, bringing with them considerable wealth.¹ Their name was originally Jessurum Rodriguez and the date of their arrival is uncertain. Certain it is, however, that during the middle of the last century, the house of Francis Salvador, and subsequently that of his sons, Joseph and Jacob Salvador, ranked among the foremost in England, and its members were numbered among the merchant princes of that country.² Joseph Jessurum Rodriguez, known as Joseph Salvador, was the President of the Portuguese Congregation of London and also the first Jewish Director in the East India Company. He was a noted philanthropist, and his firm made frequent loans to the British Government.³

At the accession of George III, the Jews appointed seven delegates to offer the respects of the Portuguese nation to His Majesty; Joseph Salvador was one of these. He appears to have been the Chairman of these delegates and through the King's Chamberlain, the Duke of Devonshire, procured the desired audience. It is stated that Mr. Salvador was most affably received by the Duke and succeeded in presenting the address of the Committee to the King.⁴ The family was beyond doubt the most distinguished in the congregation, and many of the names of its members may be

¹ *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, by James Picciotto, London, 1875, p. 161.

² *Ibid.*, p. 93.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 162. The author also gives in detail several of Salvador's philanthropic ventures.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 116. On November 23, 1760, the Lord Chamberlain assured the deputies "that his Majesty had been pleased to accept with great pleasure the respectful expressions of the Hebrew community; his Majesty felt a regard for the Jews; he was aware of their good qualities and he would always bear them in his favour and his estimation."

The Joseph Salvador here mentioned was the uncle of our patriot and figured repeatedly and prominently on public occasions. See also *Ibid.*, pp. 117, 167.

found inscribed on the walls of the Council Chamber of the Portuguese Congregation at London.¹

The name also appears in American history as early as 1732. It was doubtless in connection with his many philanthropic schemes for assisting the needy and persecuted of his race that Francis Salvador, the grandfather of the subject of this sketch, became associated with Anthony da Costa and Alvaro Lopez Suasso. These gentlemen obtained permission from the trustees of Oglethorpe's Colony in Georgia, to take up collections to send settlers to that part of America. It subsequently appears that they sent about forty Jewish families to Georgia, and that the commissions granted were revoked in consequence, the trustees declaring that "they cannot conceive but the settling of Jews in Georgia will be prejudicial to the colony."²

It is also stated that the house of Joseph and Jacob Salvador bought considerable tracts of land in South Carolina and elsewhere in America. This land subsequently became exceedingly valuable.³

Wealth, however, is exceedingly unstable, misfortune will come when least expected. Two events equally sudden, swallowed up the vast fortune of these merchant princes. One was the earthquake at Lisbon where their interests were considerable, and the other, by far the more important, was the failure of the Dutch East India Company. Finally, all

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

² See *Historical Collections of Georgia*, by Rev. George White, 1855, pp. 328-9, where the correspondence on the subject is given in detail. Also Daly, *Settlement of the Jews in North America*, p. 65.

³ *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, p. 163. It is also related that in 1802 an American called on Salvador's daughter, Mrs. Texeira de Mattos and offered her \$10,000 to sign a deed giving up all claim to the American property. The offer was declined, but the stranger came again in 1812 and stated that the land was covered with villages and towns, that he held the title but that he wanted to clear up whatever cloud there was upon it. The lady who was about eighty years old at the time, thereupon accepted the money and signed the deed. See *Ibid.*, p. 164.

that remained of the immense wealth outside of a slender fortune was the tract of land in America, which was in charge of a steward.¹

Thereupon, Francis Salvador, the subject of our sketch, undertook a voyage to the New World in order to retrieve the family fortunes. We are told that in due time letters came advising of his safe arrival and announcing his intention of seeking his property. "He never wrote again," says Picciotto, "a long silence ensued, and then it was reported that the unhappy man had been murdered and scalped by Indians."²

This is the meagre information that can be gleaned from English sources. Turning now to sources of Revolutionary history on this side of the ocean, we learn that he was the son of Jacob Salvador, to whom reference has been made. He lost his father while but two years of age. His brother resided at the Hague, having married a daughter of Baron Suasso.³

On coming of age young Salvador inherited 60,000 pounds sterling, married the daughter of Joseph Salvador, the philanthropist, and received with her a dowry of thirteen thousand pounds. After his marriage he resided at Twickenham, near his mother and step-father, Abraham Prado.⁴

We see, therefore, that this man was born to wealth and reared in luxury, nor had his education been neglected. In the words of Chief Justice Drayton, the famous Revolutionary patriot: "He was liberally educated by a private tutor

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

² *Ibid.* See also *London Remembrancer*, Part II, p. 319.

³ *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, by John Drayton, LL. D., 1821, vol. II, pp. 347-8. The memoirs referred to are those of Chief Justice William Henry Drayton, published by his son, Governor John Drayton. The tribute to our hero's memory contained in the *Memoirs*, coming as it does from a man of the education and prominence of Drayton, is therefore of more than passing interest. See *Appleton's Cyclopædia of Amer. Biography* (1898), vol. II, p. 229.

⁴ Drayton's *Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 348.

and by the best masters, and was taught those accomplishments suitable to his wealth and rank in life." He had travelled extensively, particularly through France.¹ From other sources, we learn that the misfortunes already referred to led to his coming to South Carolina about the end of 1773, with the intention of settling. He left his wife and four children in England, hoping to send for them as soon as possible.²

At the time of his arrival he was certainly no more than thirty-five or forty years of age. He probably brought some wealth with him, for it is related that when he left England, his cousin, Mrs. Mendes da Costa, gave up a part of her marriage settlement to furnish funds for the expedition.³ At any rate, within a year of his arrival, in 1774, he purchased lands in South Carolina, and not wishing to live alone, resided with his most intimate friend, Richard A. Rapley, of Coroneka, commonly called Corn-acre.⁴

Of all the Jewish patriots of our Revolution, not one perhaps, possessed such advantages of wealth and education as did Salvador.⁵ He had every qualification to become the intimate friend of the foremost men of the day.

At this period, all of the Colonies were more or less agitated by the attitude of Great Britain. The Revolutionary spirit was ripening. In South Carolina lines had long since been drawn between Whig and Tory—between

¹ *Id.*, p. 348.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, by James Picciotto, p. 163.

⁴ Drayton's *Memoirs*, as relating to the State of South Carolina, vol. II, p. 348.

⁵ Since this paper was written, Mr. Kohn, the editor of the *News and Courier*, of Columbia, S. C., has called my attention to the interesting fact that the Library of the College of Charleston possesses the original grant of arms to Francis Salvador, grandfather of this Francis from the Herald's College, London. "It was granted to Mr. Salvador, and afterwards came into the possession of the late Judge Mitchell King, who presented it to the College Library."

the advocates of representative government and the blind adherents of the Crown. Nowhere, perhaps, did factional feeling run higher. A man of Salvador's temperament and education naturally took sides at once. The principles involved in the approaching struggle must have appealed to him with great force: the idea of liberty as against despotism. The idea of civil and religious emancipation must have had especial charms for him as a Jew, particularly in view of the agitation in England.¹ Without a moment's hesitation, he threw himself heart and soul into the patriot cause, not as a spectator merely, but essentially as a partisan in the struggle.

Accordingly, he became the intimate of the great leaders of the Colony, the friend of Pinckney, of Rutledge, of Laurens and of Hammond. With him, these patriots advised on some of the most important questions, as their correspondence abundantly shows.²

Such was the esteem in which he was held that when he had been but a year in the Colony he was elected a member of the General Assembly of South Carolina. He thus became one of the first Jews to represent the masses in a popular assembly.³ This dignity he retained up to his untimely death which occurred about two years later.⁴ !

Meanwhile, the opposition to Great Britain had been growing constantly. The Non-importation Association was in existence, but comparatively ineffective in the South. A

¹ See Picciotto's *Sketches*, p. 162. Considerable feeling had been aroused in consequence of the passage of the Naturalization bill in 1753.

² Drayton's *Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 348. Also *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, by Robert Wilson Gibbes, 1776-1782, pp. 22, 24, 28. Also *History of Edgefield County, South Carolina*, by John A. Chapman, p. 150.

³ The distinction of being the first belongs to Joseph Ottolengui of Georgia, who was elected to the Assembly of that colony as early as 1761, and remained a member until 1765.

⁴ Drayton's *Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 348. Chapman's *History of Edgefield County*, p. 150.

Provincial Congress was organized in South Carolina and the delegates were elected by the inhabitants. General William Moultrie, the famous soldier, has preserved for us, in his memoirs, the names of the members of that historic assembly. The Congress assembled at Charlestown, on January 11, 1775, and the names of the delegates for St. Mark's, Ninety-six District, have all figured prominently in the annals of American history. Among these are Le Roy Hammond, Patrick Calhoun, John Louis Gervais, Edward Rutledge and Francis Salvador.¹

As the subject of this sketch is repeatedly mentioned as belonging to the Jewish nation,² it was of interest to discover whether he had to violate any religious scruple before taking his seat in the Provincial Congress. No such obstacle existed, however. And even under the first state constitution members were simply required to take the oath to support the constitution of South Carolina; only the President being required to swear, in addition, to support the Protestant religion.³

The Congress chose Charles Pinckney for President, and remained in session for seven days discussing the entire critical situation. A bill of rights was framed, setting forth the grievances of the Colonists and stating "that they were entitled to life, liberty and property, and that they had never ceded to any sovereign power whatever a right to dispose of either without their consent." A resolution of sympathy with Massachusetts was likewise adopted.⁴ It was finally resolved, as appears from Moultrie's *Memoirs*, to appoint committees to carry out the provisions of the

¹ *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, so far as it relates to the States of North and South Carolina and Georgia, by William Moultrie, 1802, vol. I, pp. 16, 18. See also *American Archives*, 4th series, vol. I, p. 1110.

² Drayton's *Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 348. Also Chapman's *History of Edgefield County*, p. 150.

³ Drayton's *Memoirs*, vol. II, pp. 196, 257.

⁴ Moultrie's *Memoirs*, vol. I, pp. 19, 27, 36.

Articles of Association. Those appointed were not necessarily members of the Congress nor were all of the latter appointed on these committees. Francis Salvador must have been a prominent member therefore, for he was appointed for Ninety-Six District along with Hammond, Calhoun, Moore and Kirkland.¹

The Congress also prepared an address to the royal Governor setting forth the grievances of the Assembly. The Governor replied that he did not recognize the Provincial Congress and that body thereupon at once recommended that the inhabitants learn the use of arms. The 17th of February was set apart "as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer before Almighty God devoutly to petition him to inspire the King with true wisdom, to defend the people of North America in their just title to freedom and to avert the impending calamities of civil war."²

The members who took part in this Congress certainly ran grave chances of arrest for treason and confiscation of property.

The battle of Lexington in 1775 inflamed the South no less than the North. Open hostilities began in Carolina, and Salvador was among the first to take the field. Tories were plentiful in the northern part of the colony and William Henry Drayton, the patriot Chief Justice, at once pitched his camp ready for hostilities. The Tories thereupon sent representatives to camp and an agreement was drawn up which recited the disputes between Great Britain and North America, and also that a part of the people living between the Broad and the Saluda rivers declined to accede to the Association or obey the orders of the Continental Congress or the Council of Safety. It was then agreed that

¹ Moultrie's *Memoirs*, vol. I, p. 44. The committee consisted of Col. James Mayson, Le Roy Hammond, Patrick Calhoun, Francis Salvador, William Moore, Moses Kirkland and William Calhoun. See also *American Archives*, 4th series, vol. I, p. 1114.

² Moultrie's *Memoirs*, vol. I, pp. 46-56.

these Tories might live in peace but must not aid the British. Any offense against the compact was to be severely punished.

This interesting document concludes: "Done in Camp, near Ninety Six this 16th day of September, 1775." It is signed by six Tories, by William Henry Drayton, acting under the authority of the Committee of Safety, and for the patriots it is witnessed by Francis Salvador.¹

It also appears that Rev. Dr. Tennent had been sent North by the Congress into the very heart of Toryism to persuade the loyalists that by joining the Association, "they were fighting not against, but for their country." In one letter, he gives an account of a sermon he delivered in Boonesborough and how, after the sermon, he addressed those present on the objects of his mission. The letter concludes: "In my efforts, I was ably seconded by Mr. Salvador."²

The second Provincial Congress of South Carolina was held at Charlestown in November, 1775. Salvador was a member of this as well as of the prior one.³ From the records of that historic assembly, we can plainly see the great confidence reposed by his colleagues in his ability, his judgment and his fidelity.

With Pinckney and Middleton he was appointed to investigate the Cunningham troubles.⁴ Subsequently with Ralph Izard and others we find Salvador appointed by the Congress as a committee "With all possible dispatch to stamp and any three of them to sign, and when stamped, signed and numbered, from time to time to deliver to the Colony Treasurers, bills amounting to 120,000 pounds for paying the army."⁵

¹ Drayton's *Memoirs*, vol. I, pp. 399-403. See also *Collections of Historical Society of South Carolina*, and *Journal and Letters of Samuel Curwen*, 3rd. ed., 1845, p. 627.

² *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, by Robert Wilson Gibbes, vol., 1764-1776, p. 232. See also *Charleston Year Books*.

³ *American Archives*, 4th series, vol. IV, p. 27.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

Again on February 6, 1776, our patriot was appointed by the Congress along with Major Pinckney, Colonel Richardson, Col. Gervais and Col. Thomas, "to inquire into the state of the interior parts of the colony—to consider what means are proper to be pursued to preserve the peace and secure the safety, and to prevent future commotions therein, and also to consider the cases of the State prisoners."¹ On February 21, Salvador appears to have presented to the Congress the report for his associates.²

He seems also to have been the chairman of an important ways and means committee, on which Mr. Neufville and other prominent patriots were associated with him. The detailed report of this committee was presented by Salvador, and authorized the committee of safety to borrow seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds.³

That so high minded a man should believe in the economical use of public funds is certainly most natural, and we find evidence of it in this connection. When, in one instance, it was attempted to fix the salary of a President and Commander in Chief at ten thousand pounds a year, so determined was Salvador's opposition that the measure was defeated by the close vote of 25 to 27.⁴

The British, afraid of the aggressive patriots, soon adopted a despicable means of subjugation. In order to divert the attention of the patriots from British operations, they stirred up and assisted the Indians to make inroads and massacre the colonists.

Throughout this entire period, however, Salvador kept in close touch with the leading statesmen and commanders. In fact, Chief Justice Drayton appears to have staid at Salvador's plantation for some time previous to June 28, 1776.⁵

¹ *American Archives*, 4th series, vol. V, p. 564.

² *Ibid.*, p. 577, see also p. 586.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 586, 589.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 597. See also for notices of Pinckney and Salvador, *Ibid.*, 4th Series, vol. V, pp. 582-3.

⁵ Gibbes' *Documentary History of the American Revolution, 1776-1782*, p. 24 and note.

He was consulted on important questions, and the letters directed to him by military men are remarkable in the abundance of intricate information regarding military affairs contained therein.¹ Major Williamson, writing from Whitehall in June, 1776, mentions sending powder and bullets to Salvador and that he "has no letters from Charlestown than those which he showed to Mr. Salvador when there."²

The general assembly of South Carolina met again in March, 1776, and our patriot, being one of its members, took an active part in all of its deliberations. Several of the committees on which he served were of considerable importance and he was generally associated on them with the foremost men of his day. Thus on March 29, 1776, Col. Charles Pinckney, Col. Daniel Horry and Mr. Salvador were appointed "A committee to inquire and report the names of proper persons to be appointed Magistrates in the different districts of the Colony."³

On another occasion, a message was received by the assembly from the legislative council which concluded as follows: "As this house is of opinion that the said ordinance being a matter of importance requires several great alterations to be made thereto, we do therefore propose that a conference should be held on the same, to sit without delay, and request, you will please to appoint a committee to meet a committee of this house on this business. Our committee are, the Hon. Col. Pinckney, and the Hon. Mr. Bee." From the records it appears that the assembly at once voted, "that Col. Pinckney, the Hon. Mr. Drayton, Mr. Salvador and Mr. Matthews be a committee to confer with the committee of the legislative council."⁴

And so again and again Salvador's name is associated with that of the foremost men of the Commonwealth as a member

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 24, 28, etc.

² *Ibid.*, p. 22, etc.

³ *American Archives*, 4th Series, vol. V, p. 620.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 637-8.

of the Assembly. His name is frequently mentioned in connection with that of Middleton, of De Saussure, of Elias Horry, of Bull, Locoek and of Raply.¹

Many efforts had been made by the patriots to conciliate the Cherokees, but John Stuart, the British superintendent, had won them over, and an attack against the frontier was prepared as a diversion in favor of British operations on the sea coast. Being informed that the British fleet had arrived off Charlestown, the Indians on July 1, 1776, poured down on the frontier of South Carolina, "massacring without distinction of age or sex, all persons who fell into their power." Salvador was informed by a refugee of the savage attack, and the annalist tells us: "that Mr. Salvador forthwith mounted his horse and galloped to Major Williamson residing 28 miles away and gave the alarm."² The people were helpless, destitute of arms and ammunition. On July 18, 1776, Salvador wrote to Drayton, giving a detailed description of what had happened. "The whole country was flying," he writes, "some to make forts, others as low as Orangeburg. Williamson was employed night and day sending expresses to raise the militia, but the panic was so great that on Wednesday, the major and myself marched to the late Captain Smith's with only forty men. We have been gradually increasing ever since, though all the men in the county were loth to turn out till they had secured some kind of fancied security for their families. However, we had last night 500 men." Here follows a detailed account of a battle. The letter concludes: "I will not trouble you with more particulars as Major Williamson will send a circumstantial account to his Excellency (Rutledge). I am afraid the burden of the war will fall on this regiment and that the people over the river will do nothing."³

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 626, 639, 641-2, 644, 648.

² Drayton's *Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 340, etc. See also *London Remembrancer* for 1776. Part III, p. 50.

³ Gibbes' *Documentary History*, 1776-82., pp. 24, etc. The letter is dated "Camp near Dewits' Corner," and is full of details. See also Drayton's *Memoirs*, vol. II, pp. 340-1, 362-5.

In a letter dated July 19, 1776, he gives an account of another battle, and states that the Tories quitted the Indians after the repulse at Lindleys. He concludes, "we have this day increased to 600 men."¹

Major Williamson, writing from his camp at Barker's Creek, on July 22, gives an account of an engagement, and adds: "Mr. Salvador has been with me since my first taking the field; he thinks of making a campaign to the nation."²

Our warrior's correspondence covers a whole range of affairs. He is informed of Clinton's movements; of the fleet in Charlestown Harbor; disputes in Provincial Congress between the Vice-president and Pinckney. He advises the promotion of individuals in the army, criticises the release of the notorious Cunningham, and many other subjects.³

In July, 1776, Drayton writes to Salvador concerning Charles Lee, as follows: "Lee is very clever and very positive; the most positive of the poetical fates was, I scarce believe, more positive. Every idea of his must be right and of course every contrary idea in every other person must be wrong. However, the general has been very unlucky in his ideas sometimes." Some of Lee's mistakes are here noted. "From the zeal we have and that only for the welfare of the Common Cause, we are content to be silent to him on that point also."⁴

Francis Salvador was ardently in favor of independence, but it is doubtful whether he ever knew that the Declara-

¹ See Gibbes' *Documentary History*, 1776-82, pp. 24, etc. This letter also shows Salvador's clear-headed action in regard to Cunningham.

² *Ibid.*, p. 26. See also *American Archives*, 5th series, vol. I, p. 489.

³ Gibbes' *Documentary History*, page 28. See also the letters addressed to Salvador contained in this work. Concerning the release of Patrick Cunningham, he writes: "On the last accounts from town that Cunningham and his companions were set at liberty, we were near having a mutiny in camp." See also Drayton's *Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 350.

⁴ Gibbes' *Documentary History*, vol. 1776-82, pp. 28, etc.

tion had been adopted. Although the Declaration had been adopted on the fourth of July, 1776, the news of the event does not seem to have reached the leaders of South Carolina until about three weeks later.¹

On July 24, 1776, Drayton wrote to Salvador, as follows: "No news yet from Philadelphia; every ear is turned that way anxiously waiting for the word 'Independence.' I say, 'God speed the passage of it.' 'Amen,' say you."²

At this time Williamson and Salvador were at the head of an expedition against Tories and Indians. On this subject Drayton writes to him, as follows: "And now, a word to the wise; it is expected that you make smooth work as you go, that you cut up every Indian cornfield and burn every Indian town. For my part, I shall never give my voice to a peace with the Cherokee nation upon other terms than their removal beyond the mountains. That victory will conduct your march is the expectation of, dear Sir, your most humble and obedient servant, William Henry Drayton."³

It was while on this expedition that our patriot perished. On his way he received news of the American victory over the British fleet. Near Esseneka, at two o'clock in the morning on August 1, 1776, the Tories and Indians opened fire. Salvador was shot and falling among the bushes was discovered by the Indians and scalped.⁴

Williamson sent Lieutenant Farar in search of his comrade. The brutal act of the Indians had been observed by Captain Smith, who supposed that it was Mr. Salvador's servant assisting his master, and thereupon did not interfere.⁵

The account of his death as described by the contemporary historian is exceedingly pathetic, but too lengthy to be given

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 29.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 28, etc.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See Drayton's *Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 346. This gives a very detailed account of the engagement.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 346, 370.

here. It states that Salvador died in forty-five minutes, without being sensible that the savage act had been performed upon him.¹

Major Williamson at once sent a report of the death of so well known a patriot to His Excellency John Rutledge, President of South Carolina. After giving considerable detail, the report concludes: "When I came up to him after dislodging the enemy and speaking to him, he asked whether I had beaten the enemy. I told him 'Yes'. He said he was glad of it, and shook me by the hand and bade me farewell and said he would die in a few minutes."²

His tragic death is mentioned in the correspondence of nearly every prominent man in South Carolina. Thus, Henry Laurens, President of the Council of Safety, at once wrote to John Laurens an account of the battle, adding: "Francis Salvador, a gentleman whose death is universally regretted, was killed in the battle."³

Drayton, in his memoirs, after mentioning Salvador's services in the assembly of South Carolina, speaks of him as having had a warm heart towards those in distress, and adds: "His fate excited universal regret. . . . His manners were those of a polished gentleman, and as such he was intimately known and esteemed by the first Revolutionary characters of South Carolina. He also possessed their confidence in a great degree as his literary correspondence with them sufficiently proves. . . . At the side of his friend, Major Williamson, he received those wounds which sacrificed his life in the service of his adopted country."⁴

Salvador remained true to the ancient faith. One historian speaks of him as follows: "He was a native of England but

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 347.

² *Ibid.*, p. 370. See also Gibbes' *Documentary History*, vol., 1776-82.

³ See *New York Historical Society Publications*, 1874 (Lee Papers), vol. II, p. 224. See also *American Archives*, 5th Series, vol. I, pp. 749, 780.

⁴ Drayton's *Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 348.

of Hebrew parents and a Hebrew in religion.¹ . . . He was a member of the General Assembly and warmly attached to the cause of Independence. . . . He was highly accomplished, honorable and generous; he lived honored and respected, and his death was much lamented.”²

Thus perished this Jewish patriot. How remarkable was his career. In the brief period of three years he, a stranger, attained a prominent place in the history of his adopted country. As a Jew by birth and a Jew by religion, he sat in a representative assembly and in the Provincial Congress, and gained the esteem and friendship of the leading men of his day.

A recent historian of South Carolina opens his biographical note of our patriot with these words: “Mr. Salvador’s name appears in every history of the State of South Carolina.”³ What further need is there of eulogy? What nobler tribute can be paid to his memory?

¹ *History of Edgefield County, S. C.*, by John A. Chapman, p. 150.

² *Ibid.*, p. 150.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE EARLIEST GERMAN JEWISH CONGREGATION IN AMERICA.

BY REV. DR. HENRY BERKOWITZ, *Philadelphia.*

The first systematic attempt, made in this country to secure accurate information in reference to the Jewish people in the United States and their various organizations, was made by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and published by them in September, 1880, in a book entitled, *Statistics of the Jews in the United States*, compiled under the authority of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Mr. William B. Hackenburg of Philadelphia, and the Hon. Simon Wolf of Washington were mainly instrumental in carrying out this effort. The date there given for the earliest congregation, organized by Jewish immigrants from Germany, is the year 1780. This is the date set for the founding of the "German Hebrew Congregation Rodeph Shalom of Philadelphia." It has been impossible to verify this date, although it seems to be based upon a continuous tradition and there is no questioning the fact that in the precarious and evanescent life of the *'hebras*, which sprang up in the later years of the 18th century, lay the origin of this congregation.

The Congregation, Rodeph Shalom of Philadelphia, has just celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of its foundation, the celebration taking place December 21 to 23, 1900. The officers of the congregation felt justified in settling upon this date, through the discovery of a deed, dated November 23, 1801, conveying the plot of ground which, from its location, was well known to have belonged to the Congregation Rodeph Shalom. The deed is as follows :—

Affenim, M. Spyers, Abraham Moses, Michael Levy, A. B. Cohen, Lyon Cadett, Lewis Allen, Jr., A. Gumpert and Mayer Ulman for Lewis Allen. It contains the following preamble:

“Whereas on the 10th day of October in the year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Two (1802), the German Hebrews formed themselves into a Society in the city and county of Philadelphia, which was denominated the ‘Hebrew German Society Rodeph Shalom’ and whereas the society, having met as usual in the middle days of their Passover Feast, in the year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Ten, which was at the time of their last meeting, it was moved and seconded that the old articles of association should be abolished and to form a new constitution or articles of association, etc. Therefore the society have agreed, after due deliberation, to the following articles of the association.”

It is interesting to glean from these articles, that the prayers were to be “performed according to the German and Dutch rules and not to be altered.” It is evident from this that there were Dutch as well as German members in the congregation and that the question of ritual was a compromise between them. It is observable also from collateral records that the Mickve Israel Congregation, organized by the descendants of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews and founded in 1782, also contained Jews of German descent. Indeed, there seems to have been more or less transferring of memberships and we find that the Allen family furnished Presidents for both congregations. Among the duties of the president was the “maintenance of strict order during public worship, appointing the time for prayers in the synagogue, naming the person to act as Reader, and appointing the time and place where Passover bread should be baked.” The affairs of the congregation were conducted by him with the assistance of a cashier and a junta of two members. The annual income at that time was secured by offerings, each member donating not less than four dollars. A fine of twenty-five cents was

imposed upon every member who failed to attend the services on Friday evening or Saturday morning, absence from the city, or sickness, being the only valid excuses. Withdrawal from the synagogue before the services were concluded was likewise subjected to a fine of twenty-five cents.

In 1839, the synagogue of the congregation was laid in ashes, and its earliest records destroyed. None the less, tradition has fortified the fragmentary annals that remain. From these the following items have been compiled. The services were originally conducted by the laymen. The first cantor was elected in 1819. His name was Jacob Lipman, and he was familiarly known as "Rabbi Jakey." He received a salary of fifty dollars per annum. It was not until the middle of the century that a healthy growth manifested itself. Rodeph Shalom had become the refuge and religious home of the steadily increasing number of immigrants from the German Fatherland. In 1847 the synagogue on Juliana Street was dedicated. A modest place indeed, yet, after the many wanderings from rented halls to temporary synagogues, a settlement in this fixed abode brought with it a new dignity. This was illustrated and exemplified by none of the leaders so much, as by the man who came to stand in the pulpit and whose memory abides as a blessing, *hazan* Jacob Fraenkel.

Three mighty tides of influence passed from Germany into the very life's currents of Rodeph Shalom congregation. The Revolution of 1848 had stimulated the patriotic sentiment of the people to an intense pitch. The intellectual renaissance of the Jews, which followed the Mendelssohn era, had created the new "science of Judaism," and then came the movement for Reform. This honest and serious effort to square the religious practices of the Jewish people, with the changed conditions of life, also had its source in Germany. When, after the brief ministries of Rev. Louis Solomon, Rev. Bernard Iloway and Rev. Henry Vidaver, the congregation sought a permanent incumbent for this pulpit,

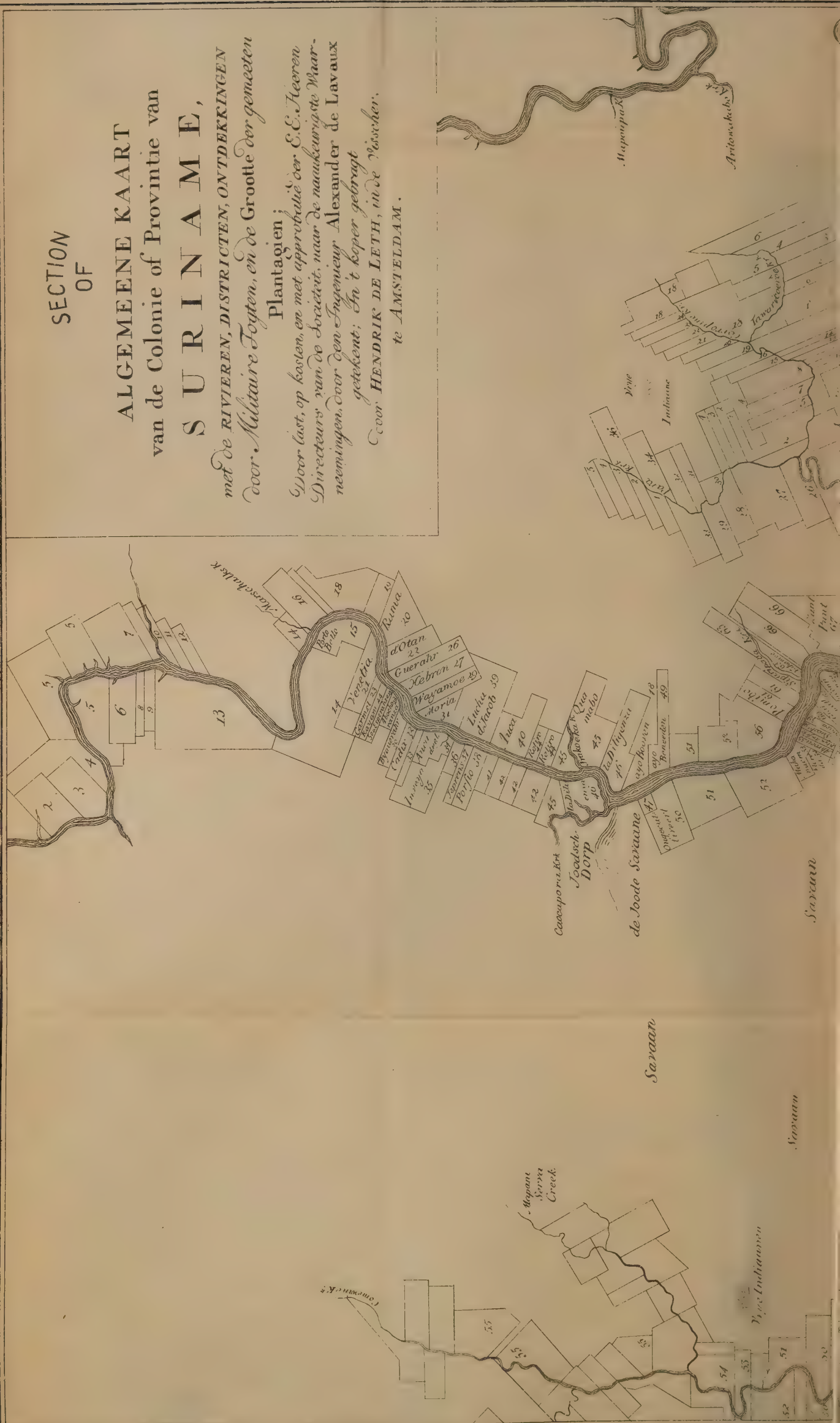
a man was selected in whom these three throbbing impulses of action were exemplified. The Rev. Dr. Marcus Jastrow, now the revered Rabbi Emeritus, came in 1866. He had personally suffered at the hands of European despots, because of his brave and patriotic advocacy of the rights of the people. His scholarship had already made him recognized as an exponent of "the science of Judaism," and in the building of this synagogue in 1869 and the creation of a new and revised ritual, he championed the cause of Reform. A wholesome conservatism, advocated by him, acted as a check on the precipitate transformations urged by many. Changes were to be the product of growth and ripeness. His ministry brought the congregation to its place of leadership among the synagogues of the land.

The closing decade of the last century has been devoted, under the active rabbinate of the writer of these notes, to energetic efforts towards constructive re-organization, especially along educational lines. The school founded in 1841, with an elaborate edifice erected in 1887, has developed into the "Rodeph Shalom Institute," having for adults, as well as children and youths, religious classes, circles for the study of Jewish history and literature, and the Assembly for Bible study.

ALGEMEENE KAART
van de Colonie of Provintie van
S U R I N A M E,
met de RIVIEREN, DISTRICTEN, ONTDEKKINGEN
door. Militaire Jozten, en de Grootte der gemeenten

Door lust, op kosten, en met approbatie der E.C. Heeren
Directeurs van de Sociëit, naar de naauwkeurigste Waar-
nemingen, door den Ingenieur Alexander de Lavaux
getekent; In 't koper gebragt
Door HENDRIK DE LETH, in de Visserij.

CCXXV. HENDRIK DE LETH, in de visscherij.
te AMST'ELDAM.





CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN SURINAM.

BY PROFESSOR RICHARD GOTTHEIL, *Columbia University, New York.*

While rummaging, a few years ago, in the book shops of Amsterdam, I came across a number of charts and maps of Surinam, which are of interest for the local history of the Jews there and more particularly in Paramaribo. These maps are not dated; but I believe I am not wrong in placing them somewhere between the years 1750 and 1780.

The oldest and the largest bears the title: *Algemeene Kaart van de Colonie of Provintie van Suriname. . . Door last, op kosten, en met approbatie der E. E. Herren Directeurs van de Societeit, naar de naaukeurigste Waarneemingen, door den Ingenieur Alexander de Lavaux getekent; In't Koper gebragt door Hendrik de Leth. . .*¹ According to Van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek*, de Leth lived in the middle of the eighteenth century, and in the catalogue of M. Nijhoff, (No. 298, *Americana*, p. 104), the date of the map is given as "circa 1750." This map gives a detailed picture of all the plantations in the Colony, and shows the exact position of the "Joodsche Dorp" and the "Joode Savaane."² Upon an English map, drawn by Captain Edward Thompson and published in 1781, I find "Jews' town" also mentioned. (See the *Report of the*

¹ Philippe Fermin, *Description. . . de la Colonie de Suriname*, Amsterdam, 1769, has reprinted this map. The names of the owners of the plantations are, however, not given.

² A small reproduction of this map is also to be found in Jan Jacob Hartsinck, *Beschryving van Guiana*, Amsterdam, 1770, p. 520; but it contains merely the skeleton, without either the names of the plantations or their owners.

Venezuela Boundary Commission, vol. iv, Atlas, p. 43, Washington, February, 1897.)

I have selected in the following list those plantations which evidently belonged to Jews. I have used as guide the names of the owners, which are a pretty certain indication; where I have been in doubt, I have indicated the doubt by an interrogation point. The names given to the plantations might have served as an additional check; but by the side of names which are undoubtedly Jewish, *e. g.*, Rama, Carmel, Hebron, Moria, Mahanaem, Sucoht, Bersaba, Nahámoe, Haran and Petak Enaim, occur others of native or Dutch origin. For the sake of easier reference I have added the names of the Plantations in parentheses. With the exception of three on the Caswinika Creek, all are along the River Surinam—showing, how the Jews, even here, naturally clustered together. On the Corropine Creek and the River Para, there are some plantations belonging to a family Pallak. I am not sure that this is a form of “Pollak,” and have, therefore, omitted it. The numbering is that of the map itself.

PLANTATIONS ON THE CASWINIKA CREEK.¹ ACRES.

F.	E. R. R. de Prado (Waico rebo).	2300
I.	Pardo (Prado?).	300
K.	G. Jacobs (?).	

PLANTATIONS ON THE SURINAM RIVER. ACRES.

15.	Widow of Jo. Co. Nassi (Porto Bello).	800
20.	Sa. Meza.	1000
21.	Ishak de David Meza (Venetia).	1000
22.	Solomon Meza (d'Otan).	1000
23.	I. Gr. de Fonseca (Carmel).	
24.	Abraham Cohen Nassi (Kayam).	
25.	David Cohen Nassi (bon Esperansca).	

¹ An offshoot of the Comowine River.

PLANTATIONS ON THE SURINAM RIVER.	ACRES.
26. Abraham de Brito (Guerahr).	
27. Moses Nuñez Henriquez (Hebron).	
28. David de la Pera (Abocha Ranza).	
29. David idem (Warjamoe).	
30. Ab. Mementon (Byanerahr).	600
31. Ab. H ^z de Barios (Moria).	
32. Ab. de Pinto (Cadix).	400
33. Ab. Bueno : bibax.	
34. Widow of Sam. de la Para (Anca doel).	
35. Heirs of Sam. Co. Nassi (Inveija).	
36. Ab. Nun. Henriq ^z .	
37. Jac. Gabai Crasto (Jeprens).	
38. Neph. Messias (Porfio).	
39. Is. Careleo (Lucha d'Jacob).	2250
40. Widow of Sam. de la Para (Anca).	1050
43. Jac. Gab. de Crasto.	
44. Heirs of Moses Cotinhio (Retiro).	
45. Heirs of Meza (Quamabo).	
46. Sam. d'Avilar (la Diligenza).	1775
47. Joode Savane.	
48. Jac. H ^z de Barios.	800
49. Iz. Uz. de Avilas.	800
50. Jac. H ^z de Barios (Uncultivated).	
53. Widow of Gab. Baeza (Mahanaem).	
54. David d'Iz. Messias (Floreda).	
55. Ab. Fonseca Meza (Abroea).	
57. Mord. M. Quiro (Klyn Amst.)	110
58. Mos. C. Baeza (Sucoht).	200
59. Heirs of Mess. Penco (Wayapinnica).	550
60. Widow of Ab. M. Maeza (Bersaba).	250
61. Heirs of B ⁿ H ^z Granada (Pomibo).	
62. Heirs of Jos. Arias (Guillgall?).	500
63. Bene H ^z Granada (Nahamoe).	450
64. Jos. Coh. Nassi (la Confianza).	430
67. B. H ^z Granada (Zaut Punt).	1558

PLANTATIONS ON THE SURINAM RIVER.		ACRES.
68.	Moses Naar (Sarga).	
69.	Is. de David d'Meza (Boavista).	
70.	Heirs of Granada (By Zaut Punt).	1000
71.	M ^s de Britto (Vrapanica ?).	100
72.	Widow of Coc. Nassi (de Sonusco).	750
73.	Is. de Britto (de Goede Fortuyn).	1081
74.	Ab. Dovalle (?).	250
75.	Is. Henriq ^z (Jusego).	140
76.	Ab. Pinto.	224
77.	Is. Carilho (Roode Bank).	1700
78.	Ab. & Is. Pinto (Stretta Nova).	1800
79.	Ard' Ab. da Costa (Aboa Pas).	1042
80.	Heirs of Baeza & da Costa (Cabo Verde).	
81.	Jos. Gabay Faro (Goosceen).	1452
82.	Iaq ^s de Prado (la Recuperada).	288
83.	Pardo Gen ^t Carthago (Rake Rak).	400
84.	Mos. Isidro (de Goe de Buurt).	
85.	Widow of Ab. de Pina (Beherseba).	
86.	Sam. Uz. d'Avilar (de 3 gelroeders).	1000
	1. Widow of Jac. Uz. d'Avilar (Restaurada).	1200
	2. Esth. Lorenzo.	200
	3. Beni H ^z Moron (Klyn Curacau).	
	4. Iac. de Pina (Haran).	130
	5. Iac. Coh. Nassi (Petak Enaim).	130
	6. Dav. Uz. d'Avilar (Parmlk ?).	130
	7. Heirs of Sol. Ies. Levi.	300
89.	Heirs of Ab ^m Arias (Gelderland).	

The second map bears the title: *Nieuwe Kaart van. . . . Suriname, Comowini, Cottica, en Marawini. . . met naauwkeurige aanwyzinge van alle de Steden, Sterktens en Plantagien. . . T Amsterdam by J. Ottens.*¹ This map is

¹ According to Van de Aar, Ottens was an engraver who lived during the first half of the eighteenth century.

De Surnamse Bank
is Week Moddergront

SECTION
OF

Nieuwe Kaart
van

SURINAME

vertonende de stromen en land-streken

van

SURINAME,

COMOWINI, COTTICA,

en

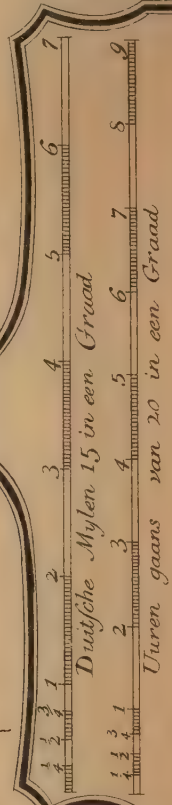
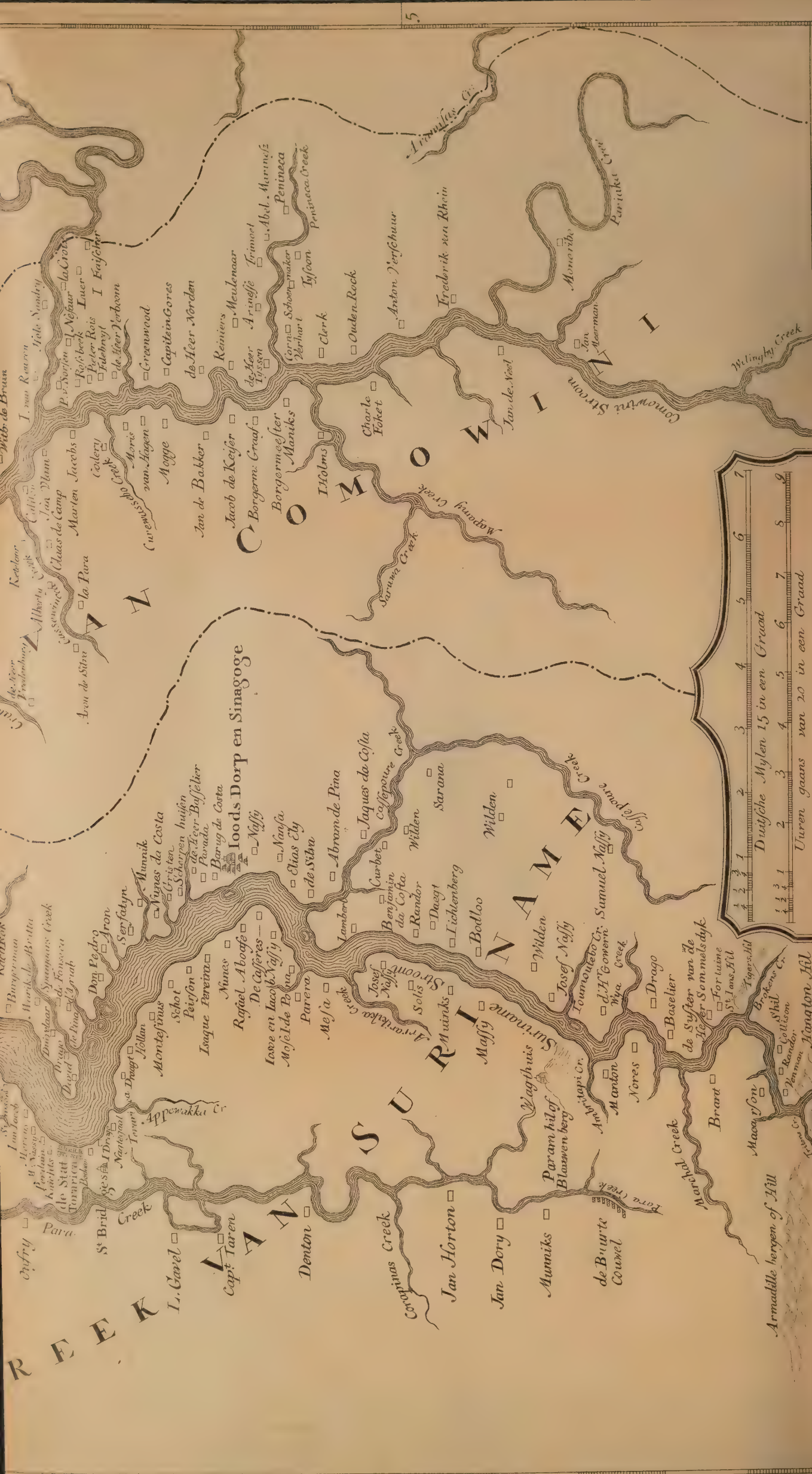
MARAWINI,

oeflegen in Zuid America op de kusten van
Caribana. 6.gr: benoorden de Linie Equinoct.

met nauwkeurige aanwyzinge van alle de
Steden, Sterktens en Plantagien mits gaders de diepte der
Stromen en Banken volgens de nieuwste waarnemingen.

T AMSTERDAM by J. OTTENS.





R E E K

evidently a little later in date than the first, and gives us a number of new names. The "Ioods Dorp en Sinagoge" is represented by a number of buildings. With the exception of one place on the Para Creek, and another on the Cottica River, the plantations are still to be found along the Surinam River. The numbering is my own.

PLANTATIONS ON THE PARA CREEK.

(1). Samuel Nassy.

PLANTATIONS ON THE RIGHT BANK OF THE SURINAM RIVER.

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| (2). S. Nassy. | (9). Rafael Aboafe. |
| (3). S. Nassy. | (10). Iosoe en Jacob Nassy. |
| (4). Simson. | (11). Mose I. de Pona. |
| (5). M. Nassy. | (12). Parera. (?) |
| (6). Montesinus. | (13). Mesa. |
| (7). Isaque Pereira. | (14). Josef Nassy. |
| (8). Nunes. | (15). Solis. |

PLANTATIONS ON THE LEFT BANK OF THE SURINAM RIVER.

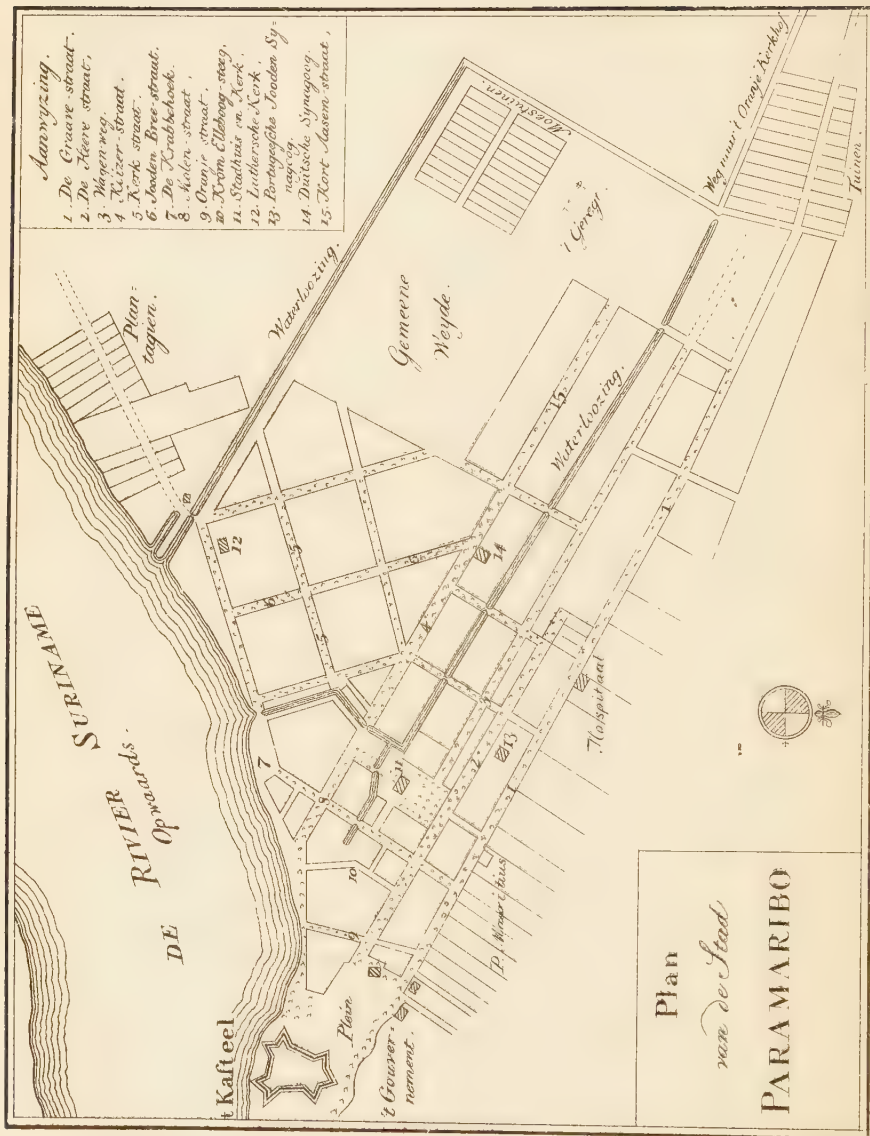
- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| (16). De Fonseca. | (24). Ioods Dorp en Sinagoge. |
| (17). David. (?) | (25). Nassy. |
| (18). De Pina. | (26). Elias Ely. |
| (19). Aron. | (27). de Silva. |
| (20). Serfatyn. | (28). Abram de Pina. |
| (21). Nunes da Costa. | (29). Jaques da Costa. |
| (22). Parada. (?) | |
| (23). Barug de Costa, | |

PLANTATION ON THE COTTICA RIVER.

(30). Saare Brit, (*i. e.* Sha'arē Berit).

The following alphabetical list of the persons and families mentioned upon the two maps may serve as the beginning of a name-list for Surinam:

- Aboafe, (= Aboab), Rafael, ii, 9.
Pub. iv, 3.
 Arias, Abraham, i, 89.
 Arias, Joseph, i, 62.
 Aron, ii, 19.
 Avilar, Izak de, i, 49.
 Avilar, Jacob Uziel d', i, 86, (1).
Pub. iv, 3.
 Avilar, Samuel de, i, 46.
 Avilar, Samuel Uziel de, i, 86.
 Avilas, (Avilar?) David Uziel d',
 i, 86, (6).
 Baeza, i, 80.
 Baeza, Gabbai, i, 53.
 Baeza, Moses C., i, 53.
 Barios, Abraham Henriquez de,
 i, 31.
 Barios, Jacob Henriquez de, i,
 48, 50. *Pub.* iv, 6.
 Brito, (or Britto), Abraham de, i,
 26. *Pub.* iv, 4.
 Brito, Isak de, i, 73.
 Brito, Moses de, i, 58.
 Bueno, Abraham, i, 33.
 Careleo, Is[aac], i, 39.
 Carilho, (= Careleo?), Is[aac], i,
 77.
 Costa, i, 80.
 Costa, Abraham da, i, 79.
 Costa, Barig (= Baruch) de, ii, 23.
 Costa, Jaques da, ii, 29.
 Costa, Nunes de, ii, 21.
 Cotinhio, Moses, i, 44.
 Crasto, Jacob Gabai, i, 37, 43.
 David, (?), ii, 17.
 Dovalle, (?), Abraham, i, 74.
 Ely, Elias, ii, 26.
 Faro, Joseph Gabay, i, 81.
 Fonseca, de, ii, 16.
 Fonseca, I. Gr. de, i, 23.
 Granada, Henriquez, i, 61, 63, 67,
 70.
 Henriques, Abraham Nuñez, i,
 36.
 Henriques, Is[aac], i, 75.
 Henriques, Moses Nuñez, i, 27.
 Isidro, Moses, i, 84.
 Levi, Solomon Ies., i, 86, (7).
 Lorenzo, Esther, i, 86 (2).
 Mementon, Abraham, i, 30.
 Messias, David de Izhac, i, 54.
 Messias, Naphtali, i, 38.
 Mesa (= Meza), ii, 13.
 Meza, i, 45.
 Meza, Abraham Fonseca, i, 55.
 Meza, Abraham M., i, 60.
 Meza, Isaac de David, i, 21, 69.
 Meza, Salomon, i, 22.
 Meza, Samuel, i, 20.
 Montesinus, ii, 6.
 Moron, H(enriquez?), i, 86, (3).
 Naar, Moses, i, 68. *Pub.* iv, 4.
 Nassi (Nassy), ii, 25.
 Nassi, Abraham Cohen, i, 24.
 Nassi, Coc (?), i, 72.
 Nassi, David Cohen, i, 25. *Pub.*
 iv, 3.
 Nassi, Isaac Cohen, i, 86, (5).
 Nassi, Jacob, ii, 10.
 Nassi, Joseph Cohen, i, 15, 64.
 Nassi, Joseph, ii, 14.
 Nassi, Samuel, i, 35; ii, 1, 2, 3.
Proc. iv, 3.
 Nunes, ii, 8.
 Para, Samuel de la, i, 34, 40, iii.
 Parada (?), ii, 22.
 Parera, (= Pereira?), ii, 12.
 Penco, Messias, i, 59.
 Pera, (= Para?) David de la, i,
 28, 29.
 Pereira, Isaque, ii, 7. *Pub.* ii, 76;
 iv, 3; vi, 18, 19.
 Pina, de, ii, 18.
 Pina, Abraham de, i, 85; ii, 28.
 Pina, Jacob de, i, 86, (4).
 Pinto, Abraham de, i, 32, 76, 78.
 Pinto, Is[aac], i, 78.
 Pona, Mose, I. de, ii, 11.
 Prado, Gent. Carthago, i, 83.
 Prado Iaq^s de, i, 82. *Pub.* iv, 3;
 vi, 19.
 Quiro, Mordecai M., i, 57.
 Serfatyn, ii, 20.
 Silva, de, ii, 27.
 Simson, ii, 4.
 Solis, ii, 15.



It is possible that some duplicates will be found in the above list. This is due to the fact that the second map does not give the prenomens. The variations in spelling are not due to my own fault.

The plan of the city Paramaribo or New Middelburg, as it was for a time called, is taken from the "Landkaart van de Volkplantingen Suriname en Berbice." Its date may be a little later than that of the other two; but there is nothing to indicate the exact period it represents. Attention may be called to the "Jooden Bree-Straat," No. 6; the Portuguese Synagogue, No. 13; and the German Synagogue, No. 14.

The picture of the Jews' Savanna seems to me to belong to some account of Surinam, published during the early part of the nineteenth century. It bears the legend "Gesicht van de Jooden Savane, in de Colonie van Surinamen, van de Rivier zyden te zien." I do not know its provenance.¹

Another picture of the Savanna is to be found in M. D. Teenstra, *De Landbouw in de Kolonie Suriname*, Groningen, 1835, vol. ii, p. 142. I append his account of the Savanna, a sad picture of what was once a flourishing community, (see also, Van Sijpesteijn, *Beschrijving van Suriname*, 's Gravenhage, 1854, p. 85).

APPENDIX.

[TRANSLATION OF TEENSTRA, AGRICULTURE IN SURINAM,
II. pp. 133 *et seq.*]

§2. DESCRIPTION OF THE JEWS' SAVANNA.

The savanna of the Jews is an insignificant village or hamlet, being the property and the late residence of Portu-

¹ In J. G. Stedman, *Narrative of a five years' Expedition against the revolted Negroes of Surinam*, 2d ed., 1806, vol. ii, p. 303, there is a small picture entitled "View of the Settlement called the Jews' Savannah."

guese Jews. * * * * Situate in the division of upper Surinam, ten hours or so, or two days navigating from Paramaribo, yet on the other side, (namely on the left shore, sailing upwards) on the river Surinam, where this romantic hamlet is built upon high mat-grass.

So that you may know to a certain degree how this village looks, herewith follows an abstract of my journal of voyages:

And now we are shown the picturesque hillock upon which stands a synagogue built of stone. In front of this quiet hamlet in the middle of the river, abounding in fish, lies a charming *tabbetje* or oblong uninhabited island * * * * completely overgrown with trees, shrubs, and bushes, among which are a number of thorny shrubs with small round leaves which here are named *Branti-Maká*, as well as flowering shrubs alternated by small groups of budding trees, while on the shore grows the spongy waterplant *Mókké Mókké* (alum) which, with its stout, great and broad leaves of a darkish-green, glittering color, resembling the three-cornered leaf of the *Taijers*, with its yellow, tulip-formed blossoms, with the colors of the leaves of the trees glimmering in the darkness, with the red of the houses and with the gray-and-greenish hue of the Savannas, form a most enchanting combination in the mirror-like smooth sheet of the river.

Before one reaches the green hillock, or so-called mountain, one sees at the foot of it various military buildings, which group can be easily distinguished from other houses, by the doors and windows, painted red, while the private houses are tarred. Here resides the commanding officer of the military post Gelderland which is behind the hamlet, and he has here his picket.

Not less attractively located is the village which is built upon the hill around the synagogue and shows itself to the eye, that seeks loving novelties; its grave stillness arouses serious and reverential feeling and reminds us involuntarily of by-gone times and manners.

* * * * *

This village should only be looked at from a distance. Everywhere you meet oppressing poverty upon the ruins of former prosperity, there are only a few senile decrepit Israelites in the dilapidated houses, surrounded by decayed ruins. Nevertheless have we seen the picturesque hill upon the aforesaid *tabbetje*, which stretches itself lengthwise of the brown, calm stream, provided you look upon it from above. The evening we spent, after we had inspected the entire hamlet and synagogue, in the most prominent house of this village, with M^r T. de la Parra in the company of a few good, old people, namely, La Parra, Nassy, T. H. de Mera and B. H. da Costa, all of them Jews of between 70 and 80 years of age who communicated to us with evident interest the original and early privileges which they enjoyed here, while they complained without exception about the loss of their own private jurisdiction. Also prophesied those hospitable men, who stood with one foot already in their graves, with good reason, that after death their residences like so many others would be deserted and uninhabited.

Their ancestors, according to their story, arrived here as fugitives in consequence of the persecution in Spain and Portugal, having received permission from our government in 1632 to settle upon this savanna and erect dwellings. However, it was not until August, 1691, that the owner of this land, namely, Samuel Nassy, gave them this establishment in full possession, and he added 25 acres from the nearby pasturage. The Governor Scherpenhuizen donated subsequently 100 acres to them. The deed of gift is still to be found in the Collection of Privileges, title 8, d. d. September 12, 1691.

The synagogue was erected in the year 1685, which last date stands upon the iron pillar near the westerly gable-wall,¹ and is situated on a high, spacious square west-south-west and east-north-east, being the level summit of a hill 10 to

¹ Compare the pamphlet written by Nassy, *Essai Historique*.

12 Netherlandish ells above the average level of the river. The synagogue itself, surrounded by a wooden railing, painted black, is erected entirely of bricks, and is a very strong building with two pointed gables, with stoops on both sides, without steeple or clockwork; it is ninety-three Rhine-landish feet long, forty-two feet broad, and thirty-three feet high. Inside is to be seen a wooden arch which is supported by pillars of genuine brown hard-wood. At the westerly end is a gallery a man's height above the other floor, containing the seats for the women; below this gallery one finds three apartments, in one of which sat the tribunal of the Jews. This privilege they obtained from Queen Anne of England, and at the same time it was stipulated, that they should be exempt from prosecutions during their high festivals, by their creditors. * * * * However, this court of justice, (of the first instance in civil cases to the amount of five hundred guilders), together with various other privileges, has expired and was abolished by royal decree, d. d. 7 April, 1825, on July 4, 1825.

In the apartment to the left, besides the fire-engine there are to-day a large chest of books and other archives. Here a number of children are instructed during divine service. To the east of the church stands the sacristy; a large chest contains, upon eighteen scrolls, the books of Moses, each of these scrolls comprehends the Pentateuch, written on vellum in Hebrew; the sticks, upon which these holy laws and teachings are rolled, have a splendid crown of silver and gold, while each of these eighteen scrolls is wrapped in a variously flowered silken covering. On the north side are seats of the officers, which are kept in very good order. The quantity of copper crowns and chandeliers is the best witness to the former prosperity of this community; these were gifts of prominent Jews, whose names are also engraved upon them; the same is the case with a silver wash-basin and cover, upon which are engraved two hands turned upwards; beyond these this synagogue has no especial valuables.

On October 12/13, 1785, the Jews celebrated the centennial jubilee of this synagogue; more than 1600 persons are said to have attended this expensive and magnificent festival, amongst whom were the Governor-General Wichers, the Police Counsellors, the Civil-Counsel, Staff Officers and various high officials. In the year 1827, important repairs were made on the building.

Having finished examining the synagogue, we turned to the south-east corner of the square to visit an old coffee-house; but this dilapidated hovel, entirely built on piles, was uninhabited and locked up. There were a great number of vermin, and the miserable shanty between the broken grating and pile-work will soon fall to pieces; everything was rotten, decayed, and mouldering; nothing could be seen, but dilapidation and decay.

Close by the billiard house we partook of a collation with the above-named Da Costa, and we promenaded eastwards to the so-called village, and ere long we reached the path leading to the cordon of the military post Gelderland, situate about eight to ten Netherland ells higher than the before-mentioned church-square. This hamlet, which was honored by a visit from the Commissary-General Joh. Van den Bosch in July, 1828, was then and later forsaken, still I must say that it is a healthy place, dryly situated and provided with pure air. The soil mostly consists of loose sand, intermingled here and there by a brown, mud-like earth and rough cobble-stones. The hamlet had formerly four cross-roads, which are still discernible, and was 450 Rhenish feet long and 300 feet broad; there were upon this oblong square once about 80 to 90 houses, but in 1790 it must have been well nigh a deserted wilderness, as there were then living in 49 houses, only 22 miserable inhabitants,¹ and in October, 1822 there were already not more than 8 inhabitants,² and this is to-day their number.

¹ *Historische Proeve*, etc., II part, page 47.

² *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen*, Mengelwerk, for 1823, page 183.

It is stated in the *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen*, "that the Jews left this place of rest and security to go to Paramaribo for the sake of trading." When they gave up agriculture, they all became impoverished, although others too have gained little or nothing. Many prominent Portuguese Jews established themselves here only to be buried at this cemetery with their ancestors. The former prosperity of this hamlet had its origin in the trade necessary to the supply of the former strong garrison of the cordon * * * * which now is almost deserted, so that former captain's posts are now mounted by a corporal and a few guides; for which reason the trading Israelites many years ago removed from here and settled in Paramaribo.

The road from the synagogue to the military post of Gelderland leads through very deep snow-white sand, which is intermixed with white flintstone. It was just at midday, (Friday the 12th,) that we thus promenaded; and the leather almost fell off from our shoes while we walked onward with half closed eyes, on account of the strong light.

To the right and left of the hamlet of this savanna are two deep alleys, planted with trees, whilst to the right of this path, on the slope of the alley is situated the Jewish cemetery with a great number of marble tombstones, on which are Hebrew inscriptions.

* * * * *

After breakfast we concluded, instead of lying down, to visit the cemetery of the old Jews, which now is higher up on the same side of the river; we were able to reach the same by water in half an hour. If the savanna of the Jews up the river is somewhat desolate, it is evident, that the view near this village is not less romantic than when arriving. One has, sailing upwards, on the left shore, high cliffs, of a yellowish color, interwoven with red stripes; which cliffs ascend as steep as a wall; and all-over breaks appear, wherein small birds build their nests. Those

steep banks are over-grown with a great many small black trees, ivy, bosch-tay-tay, and other plants, whilst upon the first high cliff stood the old Jewish synagogue before the year 1685. Now one sees further on, at the winding of the river, a small creek or landing-place, and here were a few canoes or coijalen under the shadowing thicket. Arrived here we waded through the deep sand where there are a great many shrubs, and ere long we reached the old cemetery of the Jews, where you find an abundance of tombstones which have more the shape of a prism than of an oblong square; they are scattered in every direction, the most magnificent ones were those of De Meza, Cohen, Nassy, de la Parra, etc. In the middle of this solitary, lonely cemetery stood a stately, black tree, which overshadows with its broad crown the silent graves and adds to the solemnity of the place. It seems to mourn its lonesome and secluded station. From here we now went straight upwards through the sand and reached a camp (condrie) of Carribee Indians, which camp consists of about 50 to 60 souls. However, the real number is only to be guessed at, as the captain of the camp Papegaai does not know his own subjects, much less the population of this camp.

* * * * *

Thus reads what I have written about the “Savanna of the Jews” in my yet unpublished diary of travels to the Netherland West Indian dominions, and I trust I have succeeded in my task to give you a clear picture of this village. But I have to add that, on the 10th of September, 1832, the hamlet was almost entirely destroyed by a fire, started by some malicious persons, and the most prominent houses and buildings became a prey of the flames. The fire originated in an uninhabited house of the sexton, M^r de la Parra, which stood right opposite the synagogue, and soon reached the adjacent large house of the Ex-Captain of militia of the Division of Upper Surinam, M^r Jacob de

Meza, which together with the house of the late Josua de la Parra, (died in December, 1832) and two other houses, were totally destroyed, whereby the hamlet went out of existence, since the few remaining inhabitants, as I have stated above, are too poor to think of rebuilding.

NOTES.

DR. DAVID NASSY IN SURINAM.

I wish to call attention to a little incident in connection with the Jews of Surinam, which occurred towards the end of the 18th century. In the year 1797 Surinam was an English colony, and the Portuguese were at war with France. A Portuguese ship had been seized by a French war vessel, had been brought to Surinam and sold, together with all its contents. The ship's people were thrown into the greatest poverty—without friends, credit, or the means of a livelihood. The only ones who could hold converse with them were the Jews, who, being of Portuguese descent, had retained a knowledge of their language. Looking upon these sailors as their own countrymen, they undertook to house and feed them. Nay, more than this, they chartered a sailing vessel and sent the unfortunates back to their homes, refusing to accept any repayment for the money so expended. Chief among these benefactors in Surinam had been David Nassy, a man who in every way deserved well of his Jewish and non-Jewish brethren.¹

The sailors upon their return informed their government of what had happened, and a letter, a translation of which follows, was sent to "Doctor David Nassy and the heads of the Portuguese Jewish Nation, residing in Surinam":

"The Portuguese, who were made prisoners of war by the French and then brought to Surinam, have, since they arrived at Lisbon, brought to the notice of the Prince through the Secretary of State, an account of the kindness which you gentlemen have shown them in helping them when they were

¹ See *Publications*, No. 4, pp. 3 ff., 5, p. 119.

in such great distress, and in sending them at your own expense to Lisbon. I am commanded by his Royal Highness to thank you in his name for this noble deed. His Royal Highness has noted with much pleasure that the Portuguese Jewish nation still remember their former fatherland. It would be pleasing to the Prince if all of them or some should come back to settle again in Portugal, where they would enjoy the greatest security and repose, since under the rule of the august and enlightened Prince who rules over us, none of the causes now exist, which formerly necessitated their banishment.

"In writing this I have fulfilled the order given me by his Royal Highness. Personally I place my services at your disposal in any way in which I can be of service to you. May God have you in His charge.

Given at the Palace of Quelus, Nov. 11, 1797.

D. RODRIGO DE SOUZA COUTINHO."

I have come across this letter in the *Bijdragen betreffende de Verbetering van den Maatschappelyken Staat der Joden*, pp. 229, 235, August, 1806–June, 1807, Haag, Belinfante. A copy of this volume, being a duplicate of that in the Rosenthal Library in Amsterdam, was kindly presented to me, by Baron George von Rosenthal.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL.

PRIVILEGES GRANTED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO
THE JEWS OF SURINAM, 1665.

"Whereas it is good and sound policy to encourage as much as possible whatever may tend to the increase of a new colony, and to invite persons of whatsoever country and religion, to come and reside here and traffic with us; and whereas we have found that the Hebrew nation now already resident here, have, with their persons and property proved themselves useful and beneficial to this colony, and being

desirous to encourage them to continue their residence, and trade here; we have with the authority of the governor, his council and assembly, passed the following act:

“Every person belonging to the Hebrew nation now resident here, or who may come hereafter to reside and trade here, or in any place or district within the limit of this colony, shall possess and enjoy every liberty and privilege possessed by and granted to the citizens and inhabitants of the colony, and shall be considered as English-born, and they and their heirs shall in this manner possess their property, whether real or personal.

“It is also hereby declared that they shall not be compelled to serve any public office in this colony, and that we receive them under the protection and safeguard of our government with all the property they now hold or shall hereafter possess, and import from any foreign place or kingdom abroad. We also grant them every liberty and privilege which we enjoy ourselves, whether derived from laws, acts, or customs, either regarding our lands, our persons, or other property, promising them that nothing of what they now possess, or shall hereafter acquire, shall be taken from them or be appropriated among ourselves by any person of whatever rank; but that on the contrary they shall have full liberty to plant, trade, and do whatsoever they may consider conducive to their advantage and profit, on condition that they shall be true subjects of our Sovereign Lord, the King of England, and shall obey all orders already issued by him, or which he may hereafter promulgate. It is, however, to be well understood, that none of these orders shall be contrary to what is herein contained.

“It is also hereby granted and permitted, in the most ample manner possible, to the Hebrew nation, to practice and perform all ceremonies and customs of their religion, according to their usages; also those relating to their marriages and last wills or testaments, and that the acts of marriage, made according to their rites and customs, shall be held valid in

every respect. It is also hereby declared that they shall not suffer any let or hindrance in the observance of their Sabbath or festivals, and those who shall trouble them on that account shall be considered disturbers of the public peace, and shall be punished accordingly. Also that they shall not be bound to appear on the said days before any court or magistrate, and that all summonses and citations for the said days shall be null and void. Neither shall their refusal of payment of any claim made against them on these days prejudice them in any way, or diminish any claim they may have.

“The possession of ten acres of land at Thoxarica is also hereby granted to them that they may build thereon places of worship and schools, and for the burial of their dead.

“They shall, moreover, not be compelled to do personal duty, but shall be permitted to send a substitute, except in case of war, when they also shall be bound to come forward with the other inhabitants. Permission is also hereby granted them to have a tribunal of their own; and that in cases so litigated, the deputies of their nation may pronounce sentence in all cases not exceeding ten thousand pounds of sugar.

“Upon which sentence pronounced by the said deputies, the judge of our court shall grant execution to issue, and they shall keep registers and records of the same according to custom. When an oath shall be required, it shall be administered according to the custom of the Hebrew nation, and such oath shall be deemed valid, and have all the force and effect of a judicial oath, notwithstanding any law to the contrary.

“That all this may be fully known, I have by order of his excellency the governor, his council and assembly, signed the present on the seventh of August, 1665.

Signed, JOHN PARRY, *Secretary.*”

From Lindo's *History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal.*

H. P. MENDES.

ENTERPRISE OF THE EARLY JEWISH SETTLERS
AT NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND.

A correspondent of the *Providence Journal*, from Newport, furnishes the following evidence that the Hebrews of Newport contributed materially to the prosperity of that town before the Revolution. I should be pleased to get hold of the bundle of papers of Aaron Lopez referred to; but as I have no access to them I copy the extract which, confessedly having no religious value, will still, I am sure, be pleasing to our readers as a relic of olden times, and the more interesting as Mr. Lopez was a fugitive from the Peninsula, whence he escaped from the Inquisition :

“ Whilst on this subject of the past history of Newport, let me here introduce one or two interesting matters connected with the early commerce of this place lately brought to my notice. They are gathered from bundles of papers belonging to the late Aaron Lopez, who was one of the most prominent merchants of his day, and they relate to the voyages of the sloop *Kingfisher*, owned and sailed by Capt. John Strange, of Freetown, Mass., and chartered by Aaron Lopez, for the sum of £19 6s., lawful money, per month; with an additional clause to the agreement, that Lopez should pay to said Strange the sum of £2000 should the sloop be seized on the high seas. She was manned by the captain who received £3 per month; his son, as a mate, at £2 8s.; four seamen at £2 2s., and a boy at £1 4s.; and her measurement was sixty-six tons—a small craft for the trade in which she was employed, according to our present views. August 12, 1775, she sailed for Jamaica with a mixed cargo; and again, November 13, she sailed for ‘Cape Nicnola Mole on Hispaniola,’ with a similar cargo to be exchanged for molasses.”

The above is copied from a newspaper clipping, without date, which belonged to the late Gershom Nathan, of New York.

" TO BE SOLD

"A very good plantation situated in Grigg's Town, Somerset County, New Jersey, joining to Mr. Noble's mills on Millstone River, containing about 120 acres of good land, with a good Dwelling House, Store-House, Barn, two Barracks, an Orchard and an excellent well; 30 Acres of good meadow, and very good conveniences. Whoever has a mind to purchase same, may inform themselves of David Hays, living on the premises, or of Isaac Seixas, in Stone Street, New York.

"N. B.—The title is indisputable."

Cited in *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey*, Vol. XII, from *The New York Weekly Post Boy*, Jan. 2, 1744.

ELVIRA N. SOLIS.

JUDAICA-AMERICANA.

From the catalogue of the De Castro collection of books and antiquities, sold at Amsterdam in April and May, 1899, I extract the following Judaica-Americana:

Sermão composto e pregado pelo H. H. R. Semuel Mendes de Sola em Amsterdam. Ms. de 34 pp. (Catalogue, p. 55, No. 516.)

For other sermons of this author, who was Rabbi in Curaçao in the 18th century, see my "Early Jewish Literature in America" in *Publications*, No. 3, pp. 117 ff., 142.

Naar, Josua b. Jacob. Traité en Espagnol dans lequel il y a prédit que la venue du Messie aura lieu en 1806 et la reconstruction de Jérusalem en 1808. Ms. de 23 pp. écrit à Curaçao de 5552-5554 (1792-1794). Inédit. Très rare. (Catalogue, p. 57, No. 529.)

Solla, Semuel Mendes de. Orden de la Agada que se puede dezir en la noche de Purim. Ms. de 12 ff. 1 vol. cart. in 4. Inédit. (Catalogue, p. 58, n. 540). See references *supra*.

Benedictus, Coenraad. Examen voor die nieuw aante ne-

men Moël of Besnijder der Israel. Kinderen . . . Hierbij gedeeltelijk het mannelijk lid ontleed, ook leerzame beschrijving der Besnijdenis en Circumcisione operatie, alsmede behandelingen . . . in vragen en antevooden. (Paramaribo, 1830?); 1 vol. br. in-8. Très rare. (Catalogue, p. 93, No. 800.) See my notes in *Publications*, No. 3, p. 131; No. 4, p. 7.

Inwijding der Nieuwe Synagoge Newé-Sjalom te Suriname Paramaribo (1837)? 1 vol. br. in 8°. Rarissime. (Catalogue, p. 106, No. 979.)

Sermao moral pregado no K. K. de T. T. por o H. H. R. Jahacob Lopes da Fonseca, Rab Eleito do K. K. de Mikve Israel na ilha de Curaçao. 10 Yiar, 5523 (1763). Amst., 5523 por D. de R. Meldola. (Catalogue, p. 107, No. 993.)

Laguna, Dⁱ Israel Lopez. Espejo fiel de Vidas que contiene los Psalmos de David en verso. Avec 3 gravures de Abr. Lopes de Oliveira. Londres, 5480 (1702). 1 vol. veau in-4. Très rare. See Kohut, in *Publications*, 3, pp. 110-2, 139; 4, pp. 121-2, 162.

Mendes de Solla, Semuel. Sermam funebre, & moral, que às Exequias do muy Docto H. H. R. Aharon Acohen de Lara, Hazan do K. K. de T. T. prégon o H. H. R. Sem. M. de Solla . . . em Sabat. Emor. 20 de Ijar, Ao. 5504. Amst., 5504 (1744). 1 vol. cart. in-4. See first item.

Plechtigheeden, Vreugdegezangen en gebeden in de Hoogd.Joodsche Synagoge, "Neve Salom" te Suriname op den dag der inhuldiging van Sir Charles Green. . . Gouverneur General . . . Paramaribo, 1804, 1 vol. cart. in-4. Très rare. See Kohut, in *Publications*, 3, p. 130; 4, p. 6.

Among the "portraits de célèbres Grand-Rabbins, Médecines, Philosophes, etc.," there is one, on p. 226, mentioned of "A. J. Chumaceiro, Grand Rabbín de Curaçao. Lithogr."

Among the publications bearing upon the history of the congregation in Curaçao (see my essay in *Publications*, No.

3, pp. 117, 118, 142), are the following, to which no attention has as yet been directed :

אמת ויציב (Emet^h V^cjatsiv), Polemik gegen Sch'muel Mendes Sola (*vide, supra*), Mard. Chajj. Senior, Sch'lomo Nuñez Redondo u.[nd] A.[nderen] üb[er] Angelegenheiten der jüd[ischen] Gemeinde auf Curaçao im J[ahre] 1745, 8°. Unedirt. Papier, 24 Bll., span.-rabbin. Schrift, hoch 22, breit 14 Centimeter. Der Verf[asser] nennt sich י"ד.—In mancher Hinsicht sehr interessant. See M. Roests' בית הכפר (Bet^h ha sefer), Amsterdam, 1868, p. 346, No. 5138.

Apparently there was a lack of harmony among the officials of the Hebrew congregation in Curaçao, in the middle of the 18th century, if we may judge from the polemics of this anonymous scribe and de Solla's apologetic sermon, published in Amsterdam in 1750. It were well to make accessible in a bibliographical list such Hebrew sources as refer to the early religious status of the Jews in America. Since we are on this point attention should be called to Jacob Kimchi's שרינת יעקב containing Rabbinic Responsa (Altona, 1760), and incidentally of interest because of the references therein to Jamaica, Barbados and Curaçao, and the Hebrew congregations flourishing there about that time. See Rev. Dr. H. Adler's article: The Chief Rabbis of England, in *Papers read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition*, . . . London, 1888, p. 281 ; on Kimchi, see Wolf-Jacob's *Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica*, London, 1888, p. 135, No. 1045. Who has a copy of this rare pamphlet of Responsa ?

IN the New York Public Library (Lenox) there is a pamphlet containing an account of the commercial relations and legal disputes between some London and New York Jews, connected with the India Company, who had extensive dealings with the British West Indies. The title is as follows:

THE | DECREE | in the Case of | Solomon de Medina,
Mosesson and Company, | Merchants in London, | and Rod-

erigo Pacheco, Jacob de Lara and Manuel de Costa, |
 Bearers of their Orders, | Complainants | against | Rene
 Het and the Executors of Andrew Fremean, | Deceased, |
 Defendants, | in Cancellaria Nova Eborac. | Printed and
 Sold by William Bradford in New York, 1728. | pp.(44, 6.)

G. A. KOHUT.

JACOB FRANKS.

The following information respecting Jacob Franks has been obtained from the *Collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society*. He came to Green Bay as early as 1792,¹ being then a clerk in the trading establishment of Ogilvie, Gillespie, and Co.² He was accompanied by his sister's son, John Lawe, a native of York, England. He settled on the Devil River about four miles from the Fox River, and in 1794 was granted a large tract of land by the Indians.

In 1797 he severed his connection with the above-named firm, went to Canada, procured a supply of goods, and with his nephew opened a store.³ About 1805 he erected the first saw and grist mills ever erected in that country, for which purpose he constructed a dam at Rapide des Peres. A piece of this dam on the east bank was still in place as late as 1822.⁴ He carried on an extensive trade with the Indians, and won a high reputation for integrity, fair dealing, and hospitality.⁵ On July 23, 1805 he deeded four hundred acres of his holdings to John Lawe and shortly thereafter returned to Canada.⁶

The deed from the Indians is as follows: ⁷

¹ Vol. VII, p. 227, note.

² Vol. III, pp. 250-251.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 253-4; VII, p. 227.

⁵ Vol. IX, pp. 145-7, 178.

⁶ Vol. VII, p. 227, note.

⁷ Vol. XV, pp. 3-4.

Know all Men by these presents that We the Undersigned Chiefs of the Falavoine¹ Nation of Indians, acting for the Nation in general have Given, Granted and Confirmed, and by these presents do Give, Grant and Confirm unto Jacob Franks, his Heirs, Executors or Assigns and every of them, all our Title, Claim or demand on a Tinement or piece of land with all its Singular appurtances Containing Three Acres in front on One Hundred Acres in depth, situate at La Baye in Upper Canada bounded in front by the Riviere des Renards, on the North Side by a land Granted to D^{omi}nique Ducharme and on all other sides by Land unconceded, for the Term of Nine hundred and Ninety Nine years, free and clear of all former or Gifts or Grants, Rents, Rent Charges, Titles, Troubles or incumbrances whatsoever, for value received.

In Witness Whereof we have hereunto in the presence of the Undersigned Witnesses, set our hand & Seals at La Baye this Eighth day of August in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven hundred & Ninety four. Also a piece of land situate on l'other side of the Riviere Containing Nine Acres in front on one Hundred in depth, clear of all incumbrances as the above mintioned tiniment on l'other side of the River.

L. FIFY

Witness

Claude + Caron

Thomas + Caron

Witnesses

GEORGE GILLESPIE

JEAN ECUYER

witness CHIATCHE (a turtle) ANGUEMAN

ALEX^R KENNEDY

G^T LAGOTERIE

witness

ATAWOINABIE (an eagle)''

HERBERT FRIEDENWALD.

¹ Menomonees.

MISCELLANEOUS.

It is interesting to observe, in connection with the valuable paper by Rev. Dr. D. Philipson in No. 8 of our *Publications* on "The Jewish Pioneers of the Ohio Valley", that the westward movement of Jewish migration in the United States was a gradual one, and that Jews had settled at more centrally located places before they arrived in Ohio. That the Jews had probably reached Pittsburg some years before the first Jewish pioneer of the Ohio Valley, whom Dr. Philipson deals with, Joseph Jonas, settled in Cincinnati in 1817, is apparent from the following passage from John Bernard's *Retrospections of America*, regarding a visit paid by the distinguished actor to Pittsburg in 1800: "I found the town which was called the Western Exchange, a reflex of New York, the same earnest bustle in its business, and the same national variety in the thickly thronging strangers. Here were natives of every state, besides English, Irish and Scotch, French, German, Dutch, Jews and Indians." (p. 182).

In the preparation of the late Jacob Ezekiel's article on "Persecution of the Jews in 1840" in No. 8 of our *Publications*, what is undoubtedly the strongest letter of protest issued by the Executive Department of our Government in this whole series, was unfortunately overlooked. The peculiar significance of this letter is its official recognition with respect to Jewish rights, of the non-Christian character of our country, making it particularly suitable for our Government to intervene on behalf of the victims of religious persecution in other countries. This letter reads as follows:

(Letter from John Forsyth, Secretary of State, to David Porter, U. S. Minister to Turkey).

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, August 17, 1840.

DAVID PORTER, ESQ.,

Sir:—In common with the people of the United States, the President has learned with profound feelings of surprise

and pain, the atrocious cruelties which have been practiced upon the Jews of Damascus and Rhodes, in consequence of charges extravagant and strikingly similar to those, which, in less enlightened ages, were made pretexts for the persecution and spoliation of these unfortunate people. As the scenes of these barbarities are in the Mahomedan dominions, and, as such inhuman practices are not of an infrequent occurrence in the East, the President has directed me to instruct you to do everything in your power with the government of his Imperial Highness, the Sultan, to whom you are accredited, consistent with discretion and your diplomatic character, to prevent or mitigate these horrors,—the bare recital of which has caused a shudder throughout the civilized world; and in an especial manner, to direct your philanthropic efforts against the employment of torture in order to compel the confession of imputed guilt. The President is of the opinion that from no one can such generous endeavors proceed with so much propriety and effect, as from the representative of a friendly power, whose institutions, political and civil, place upon the same footing, the worshippers of God, of every faith and form, acknowledging no distinction between the Mahomedan, the Jew, and the Christian. Should you, in carrying out these instructions, find it necessary or proper to address yourself to any of the Turkish authorities, you will refer to *this distinctive characteristic* of our government, as investing with a peculiar propriety and right, the interposition of your good offices in behalf of an oppressed and persecuted race, among whose kindred are found some of the most worthy and patriotic of our citizens. In communicating to you the wishes of the President, I do not think it advisable to give you more explicit and minute instructions, but earnestly commend to your zeal and discretion a subject which appeals so strongly to the universal sentiments of justice and humanity.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN FORSYTH."

MAX J. KOHLER.

I have obtained the subjoined list of names from the *Cincinnati Directory*, 1825, by Harvey Hall, printed by Samuel J. Brown.

Alexander, Joseph. Merchant. 5th, E. of Broadway; Md.	Levy, Jonas. Watchmaker and Silversmith. Lower Market; Eng.
Byers, Israel. Tailor. 2nd, bet. Main and Walnut; Eng.	Menken, Solomon. 38 Main St.; Ger.
De Young, Samuel J. Sycamore, bet. 3d and 4th; Eng.	Johnson, David I. Merchant. Elm, bet. 3d and 4th; Eng.
Jonas, Abraham. Auctioneer. Broadway, bet. 5th and Harri- son; store, 104 Main St.; Eng.	Moses, Simeon. Merchant. Broadway, bet. 5th and Harri- son; Eng.
Jonas, Joseph. Watchmaker. Broadway, bet. 5th and Harri- son; store, 117 Main St.; Eng.	Moses, Solomon. Merchant. Sycamore, bet. 3d and 4th; store, 179 Main St.; Eng.
Joseph, Samuel. Distiller of Cordials. Main, bet. 4th and 5th; distillery, 138 Main St.; Eng.	Moses & Jones. Auctioneers. 101 Main St.; Eng.
Lape, Jacob. Grocer and Tobac- conist, Cor. Vine and Front Sts.; Pa.	Moses, S. & P. Merchants. 179 Main St.; Eng.

Masonic: Miami Lodge No. 46. Founded 1818. Joseph Jonas, Past Master.

"Places of Worship": "The Jews occupy a part of a private dwelling." Note, p. 129.

H. C. EZEKIEL.

NECROLOGY.

CHARLES P. DALY.

In the death of Charles P. Daly, which took place at North Haven, New York, on September 19, 1899, this Society lost one of its most distinguished Honorary Members, and the cause of American Jewish history, one of its earliest, most active and most efficient workers.

Born in New York City in 1816, of poor parents of the Roman Catholic faith, who had but shortly before migrated to this country, his education was cut short in early youth by his father's death. Young Daly then proceeded to earn his own livelihood; first by a few years of clerkship in Savannah, Georgia, next for a few years as a sailor before the mast, and then again, still before he reached his majority, back in his native town as an apprentice. In his leisure he found opportunity partially to satisfy his intellectual tastes, by actively participating in the work of a local literary society, where he attracted the attention of some legal and political magnates of the day. They induced him to begin the study of the law, and to actively interest himself in political life. At the age of twenty-three he was admitted to practice in New York after three and a half years of study, and soon after, in 1844, left the State Legislature, after a year's service, for the bench. As a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for nearly forty-two years, during twenty-seven of which he was Chief Justice of his Court, Judge Daly acquired most enviable fame for profound learning, unquestioned integrity, and conscientiousness and zeal. It was largely through his efforts that President Lincoln finally determined not to treat captured Confederate naval officers and seamen as pirates, even after conviction. At the beginning of his career in the legislature, he was instru-

mental in securing for our State its most valuable historical collection, and thereafter, in numerous published articles and works, and in unpublished addresses, he made most valuable contributions to New York history. The history of the law and legal system of New York, dating from the time of the Dutch possession, attracted his special attention, and were mastered by no other writer as they were by him. He also edited the series of sixteen volumes of New York law reports, known as "Daly's Reports."

An active member of the New York Historical Society, a student of general history, he published valuable historical works, one of which was *The Settlement of the Jews in North America*. He was profoundly interested in geographical science and exploration, and was the leading spirit as well as President, of the American Geographical Society for thirty-five years. Judge Daly was also deeply interested in the history of the drama, and made valuable contributions to the literature of the subject.

When in December, 1885, he retired from the bench, because he had reached the age limit, he began anew the active practice of law, and devoted himself to his varied literary and scientific interests.

He was often called upon to speak at notable Jewish gatherings and he was ever ready to express his admiration for the Jewish race, his interest in its history, particularly in America, and his indignation at narrow and degrading anti-Semitic prejudice. From his early childhood, he numbered Jews among his intimate friends, and his knowledge of Jewish affairs arose from his interest in and personal efforts at acquiring familiarity with the subject. His most conspicuous and valuable contribution in this field is, of course, his *History of the Settlement of the Jews in North America*. This came to be written as a result of the acceptance in 1872 of an invitation to deliver the oration at the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum Society in New York.

Instead of delivering trite commonplaces, Judge Daly proceeded on this occasion to show that the Jews for more than two hundred years had been an integral element of the population of New York, had made valuable contributions to the city's commercial and social growth, and had maintained an enviable reputation for benevolence and good citizenship. All this was pioneer work as applied to American Jewish history, and it is not surprising that Judge Daly's work should at once have attracted wide attention. It has continued ever since to be the basis of American Jewish history. This address was expanded into a long series of articles, which appeared in the *Jewish Times*, and a supplementary article was added in 1875.

In 1883, Judge Daly again utilized some of this same material when he spoke at the laying of the corner-stone of the new Hebrew Orphan Asylum building. This address was printed in pamphlet form at that time.

In 1892, the organization of the American Jewish Historical Society made it apparent that Judge Daly's standard book ought to be rendered accessible to the students of Jewish and American history, and Judge Daly displayed his usual courtesy and kindness in facilitating the publication of his work, and consented to write the valuable supplementary chapter. A revised edition of the work appeared in *The American Hebrew*, and in 1893 it was published in book-form.

He was proud of being an Honorary Member of this Society, and in spite of the infirmities of age he attended the meetings of the Society, held in New York City, in 1893 and 1897, and presided for a time over the sessions on each of these occasions.

His wide and profound scholarship, and genial, kindly manner can never be forgotten by any one who was privileged to enter into friendly conversation with him.

In May, 1874, the New York Jewish community felt impelled to express its appreciation of his valuable services

•

by giving a complimentary dinner in his honor, prior to his departure for Europe. Judge Daly's speech on that occasion merits preservation. He said, to quote the report of *The Jewish Times*, of May 8, 1874, that "the history of his own race has taught him to practice charity in the widest sense, and if this country had been the first to extend the full privileges of freedom to the Jews, they, in their turn, have richly returned the precious gift by their efforts, their labors, their examples of frugality, thrift and industry, which have helped to lift this country to the proud position which it occupies to-day. He related, that as a very young man he came to Savannah. He found there the few Jews who had been among the earliest settlers, occupying the highest position in society. Their honor was held so high that it required but the utterance of the tongue, and the ear to hear the expression to be assured of the fulfilment of any promise or obligation. He had then the opportunity of learning to appreciate the qualities of a true Hebrew as a man and as a citizen, and during a long career of great and varied experience, he had never occasion to change the high opinion which he formed in his younger years."

Fortunately for us, his work will remain as an enduring monument to his scholarly interest in the history of the Jews of North America, and his name will always be remembered by Jews as the pioneer worker in that field.

JACOB EZEKIEL.

Jacob Ezekiel was born on the twentieth day of June, 1812, in the city of Philadelphia. He was the first-born son and second child of Ezekiel Jacob Ezekiel, and his wife, Rebecca, who migrated from Amsterdam, Holland, to America in 1810. His grandfather, Eleazer Israel, was a Hebrew scribe. A *sepher torah* written by him is in the possession of the *Mickvé Israel* congregation of Philadelphia. The death of his mother, in the year 1818, broke up the household,

and the boy Jacob was adopted by his uncle Michael E. Cohen. When he was thirteen years of age he was apprenticed to Robert Desilver, who conducted a book-binding establishment on Walnut Street. His apprenticeship lasted seven years. In 1833 he left Philadelphia for Baltimore where he formed a partnership with a Mr. Johnson to carry on the book-binding business. During his brief residence in Baltimore he began to take that active interest in Jewish affairs that continued to the end of his long and useful life. His first public service in the cause of Judaism was the incorporation at Annapolis of the newly-organized Hebrew Benevolent Society of Baltimore, the '*Hebra Bikur Cholim u G'milat 'Hasadim*.'

In the following year, 1834, he went to Richmond, Va., and associated himself with his brother-in-law Jacob A. Levy, in the dry goods business. Two years later he formed a partnership with another brother-in-law, Isaac Hyneman, in the same business. This partnership continued until 1840, from which date Mr. Ezekiel carried on the business alone, till 1868. Shortly after his arrival in Richmond he was elected Secretary of the congregation *Beth Shalom*; he filled this office for about thirty years. In 1835 he married Catherine Myers de Castro. Fourteen children blessed the union, one of whom is the celebrated sculptor Sir Moses Ezekiel, of Rome, Italy. During his residence in Richmond, Mr. Ezekiel was prominently identified with all matters of Jewish interest.

In the year 1841, when, upon the death of President William Henry Harrison, President John Tyler, issued a proclamation announcing the death, and called upon the people to observe a day of mourning, Mr. Ezekiel addressed a communication to the President objecting to the phraseology of the document which designated this nation "a Christian people." The protest elicited the following cordial response:

“WASHINGTON, April 19, 1841.

“SIR: I beg you to be perfectly assured, that in using the language in my recommendation to the people of the United States to observe the 14th of May as a day for religious exercises, in consequence of the bereavement which the country has sustained in the death of the late President, I designed in nothing to exclude any portion of my fellow citizens from a cordial union in the solemnities of that occasion. In speaking in the first paragraph of the duties of Christian people, I meant in no way to imply that similar duties should not be performed by all mankind. The last paragraph is an invitation to all and excludes the idea of any especial invocation. For the people of whom you are one, I can feel none other than profound respect.

“The wisdom which flowed from the lips of your prophets has in time past, and will continue for all time to come, to be a refreshing fountain of moral instruction to mankind—while Holy records bear witness of Divine favors and protection of the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob, God of the Christian and Israelite, to his chosen people—may I then hope, sir, that this explanation will remove all difficulties, and that your voice and the voices of all your brethren will ascend to our Common Father in supplication and prayer on the day I have suggested.

“I tender you assurances of great respect,

JOHN TYLER.”

“Mr. Jacob Ezekiel.”

In 1845 the city council of Richmond passed an ordinance for the more effectual suppression of Sabbath breaking, a heavy fine being made the penalty for the infraction of the Sunday laws. Mr. Ezekiel wrote a number of articles in the Richmond papers setting forth the injustice of this legislation, especially as far as the Jews who observed their Sabbath were concerned, and he succeeded in having the obnoxious legislation repealed. Further, when the revised

code was adopted in 1849 he had the state law so amended as to absolve those citizens who observed the Jewish Sabbath from any penalty for violating the Christian Sabbath.

In 1851, and for several years thereafter, there was much excitement among the Jews of this country caused by a clause in the treaty then pending between the United States and the Swiss Confederation; this clause if consented to by the Senate would have prevented American Jews from settling in or even visiting certain cantons of Switzerland. Mr. Ezekiel addressed a letter to James A. Sedden, of Richmond, a member of the U. S. House of Representatives, and later the Secretary of War of the Confederacy, calling his attention to this clause and requesting him to use his influence against having the treaty ratified by the Senate. He also protested in a letter, written in 1852, to John S. Caskie, another member of the House of Representatives from Richmond, against the acceptance by our Government of a block of granite sent by the Swiss authorities to be placed in the National Washington monument then in the course of erection.

In 1869 Mr. Ezekiel removed from Richmond to Cincinnati. He took an active interest in the organization of the Union of American Congregations in 1873, and in the foundation of the Hebrew Union College. In 1876 he was elected a member of the Board of Governors of this institution and served as secretary from that time till 1896 when, owing to his advanced age, he resigned the office. Until the day of his death, which occurred on the sixteenth of May, 1899, Jacob Ezekiel retained his interest in all affairs appertaining to the weal of Judaism and of Jewry.

D. P.

JACOB BAIZ.

Jacob Baiz was born in Barcelona, Venezuela, on January 17, 1843; his parents were Abraham Baiz and Sarah Naar, and when eight years of age he came with them to this

country and resided at Elizabethport, New Jersey, where he received an education at the public schools.

As a lad of twenty he visited Venezuela, taking out merchandise and military equipment to sell to the Government. A few years after his return he established himself as a commission merchant, being chiefly engaged in exporting articles of American manufacture to the Central and South American countries, and in selling the products of those countries.

He became widely known in Central America and enjoyed the confidence and personal friendship of the late Jose Rufino Barrios, President of the Republic of Guatemala, and was appointed by him Consul-General of that country to the United States, a position which he held for fifteen years. He was also Consul-General of the Government of Honduras for several years, receiving his appointment from President Marco Aurelio Soto, and held a similar office for the Republic of Salvador, receiving his appointment from President Zaldivar.

He was a member of the Chamber of Commerce, of the Produce Exchange, and of the Coffee Exchange, in the City of New York, and a member of Essex Lodge, of Elizabeth, and Royal Arch Masons of New York.

He was prominently identified with Jewish affairs and was a member of the Congregation Shearith Israel, Vice-President of the Hebrew Sheltering and Guardian Society, and a member of many educational and charitable organizations.

A few years ago he projected and constructed a railroad in Venezuela and was President of the Company, which was incorporated in this country.

While acting as Consul-General of Honduras in 1886, he prevented a filibustering expedition by the steamer, *City of Mexico*, and the proceedings instituted by him in our Admiralty Court resulted in the condemnation of the vessel (*City of Mexico*, 28 Fed. Rep. 148; 32 *ibid.* 105). In recognition of his services in the matter he was made a Brigadier-General by that Republic.

In asserting the right of the Republic of Guatemala to expel any offensive foreigner, he was sued by a citizen of this country, who claimed that the decree of expulsion against him was libellous. The action of its Consul-General was vigorously supported by the Government and the defense of the suit brought in the District Court of the United States prevailed. At that time General Baiz claimed he had been designated as *chargé d'affaires*, and contended that suit against him in that capacity must be brought in the the Supreme Court of the United States. The legal questions involved were novel and interesting, but it was held that as the Consul-General had not been clothed with formal diplomatic functions he could not invoke the privilege given by the Constitution to "ambassadors and other public ministers." (*In re Baiz*, 135 U. S. 403).

Notwithstanding the few years spent at school, and the demands upon his time in later years, he found opportunity to acquire a liberal education and complete knowledge of French and Spanish. He was actively interested in the affairs of this Society, and lent his aid in securing historical data respecting Jews in South America and the West Indies.

He died in the City of New York on June 20, 1899.

E. J. N.

WILLIAM S. RAYNER.

William S. Rayner was born in Bavaria in 1822. While preparing to enter a university, the spirit of adventure took possession of him, and he emigrated to Baltimore in 1838, making that city his home until the day of his death, March 1, 1899.

He engaged in mercantile pursuits, and though he retired from active business in 1857, was prominently identified with many financial organizations. He was interested in mining enterprises in Pennsylvania and North Carolina, and was for a long time a director in the Western National Bank and the Western Maryland Railroad.

Throughout his career he took an active interest in the philanthropic institutions of Baltimore, filling the offices of director of the House of Refuge, Vice-President of the Poor Association, and Manager of the Home for Incurables. Of the Jewish Institutions, he was most prominently identified with the Hebrew Orphans' Asylum, of which he was President for many years. He was also an honorary director of the Hebrew Hospital, and of the Hebrew Benevolent Society, and was the first President of the latter.

As one of the founders, and the first President of the *Har Sinai* congregation, he always displayed an active interest in promoting its welfare.

MOSES COIT TYLER.¹

By the death of Moses Coit Tyler on the morning of December 28, 1900, at his home on the Campus of Cornell University, this Society lost one of its most distinguished members. The most important historian of American letters, he combined in its expounding a brilliancy of pen, a depth of scholarship and a broadness of vision that rendered every page he wrote a delight to the reader, and served to place him high among American literary men of the last century.

Born of sterling New England stock, at Griswold, Connecticut, on August 2, 1835, in the early forties, with his parents, he settled at Detroit, Michigan, where the remainder of his boyhood was spent, and where he prepared for college, entering the University of Michigan in 1853. Remaining there but a year, he subsequently passed to Yale College where he was graduated in 1857. He entered upon the study of theology, and the next two years after graduation

¹ This sketch of Prof. Tyler's career is based upon two articles written by his colleague, Prof. G. L. Burr (for the *Critic* of February, 1900, and the *N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register*, supplement to April number, 1901), which he kindly placed at my disposal.

were spent at Yale and Andover. In 1859 he became pastor of the Congregational Church in Owego, New York, passing from there to the First Congregational Church, of Poughkeepsie, in the following year, where he served until his health gave way in 1862. His ecclesiastical views underwent a change about this time, and caused him to abandon his clerical career for that of lecturer and writer, the lyceum system being then at its height, and extending "abundant welcome to one with so ready a humor and so fluent and picturesque a diction."

While recuperating at Boston, under the care of Dr. Dio Lewis, he became much interested in his system of physical culture, and in 1863 went to England with the purpose of introducing it into that country. After the first year he gave up this subject, and devoted himself to writing and lecturing. "His letters to American periodicals were widely read and enjoyed; and when he returned, in 1866, it was to a broadened fame."

In 1867 he accepted the call to the chair of English language and literature at the University of Michigan. This he gave up in 1873 for the literary editorship of the *Christian Union*, but in 1874 he returned to his university work. Four years later his first important contribution to American history and letters saw the light, when the "History of American Literature 1607-1765," was published. It at once gave him high standing among American historians and literary men. In 1881 he went to Cornell University to fill the first chair of American history established in America, joining that band of brilliant scholars which President White was bringing to that institution. Here he continued until his death, each year adding to his fame as historian and teacher. He was a member of many societies, among them the American Philosophical, the Massachusetts Historical, the New England Historic-Genealogical, the American Social Science Association, and one of the founders, and at the time of his death a vice-president, and about to

be elected president, of the American Historical Association.

No biography, however adequate, can reproduce the sunny temper of the man, known as the "knight of the sunny countenance" among his colleagues and intimates. To young men, whether his students, or not, the kind words which he was at no little pains to let fall in commendation of serious and careful work, were an inspiration. It was his wont to single them out at meetings of the American Historical Association, and by a suggestion here and a gentle criticism there, to show a helpful interest in the toilers in the field which he had done so much to make his own.

"Not less real and wholesome was his influence among his colleagues themselves," for, as Dr. White said on one occasion, quoting Bossuet, "le style c'est l'homme." Nor was this confined to them, as was witnessed by the feeling of personal loss expressed by many members of the American Historical Association, in session at Detroit when the sad intelligence of his death reached them, and not small was the number who participated in the remainder of the proceedings with a heavy heart. In addition to many pamphlets, magazine articles and reviews, he wrote: "Brawnville Papers," 1868; "History of American Literature, 1607-1765," 1878, and "Literary History of the American Revolution," 1897; a revision of Henry Morley's "Manual of English Literature," 1879; "Patrick Henry" (in the American Statesmen Series,) 1887; "Three Men of letters," 1895; and "Glimpses of England," 1898. H. F.

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